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UNIVERSAL HISTORY
AMERICANISED;

OR,

AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE WORLD,

FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE YEAR 1808.

WITH A PARTICULAR REFERENCE

TO THE

STATE OF SOCIETY, LITERATURE, RELIGION, AND FORM OF GOVERNMENT,

IN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.

TO WHICH IS APPENDED,

A SUPPLEMENT,

CONTAINING

A BRIEF VIEW OF HISTORY,

FROM THE YEAR 1808 TO THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

"Life is so short, and time so valuable, that it were happy for us if all "great works were reduced to their quintessence." *Sir William Jones.*

"Primaque ab origine mundi
"Ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen." *Ovid.*

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

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"'Life is so short, and time so valuable, that it were happy for us if all "'great works were reduced to their quintessence.' *Sir William Jones.*

"'Primaque ab origine mundi
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JAMES JERVEY, *District Clerk,*
South Carolina District.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. VI.

	Page.
ENGLAND,	3
Historical View,	30
Scotland,	247
Scottish Islands,	255
General History,	262

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RAMSAY'S

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

ENGLAND.

ENGLAND, derives its name from the Angles, one of the most powerful of the Saxon nations by whom it was conquered. Its ancient names were Britannia and Albion. It is situated between 50° and 56° north latitude; and extends in length, from south to north, about 400, and in breadth, from east to west, about 350 miles. Its area is computed at 49,450 square miles, and the population, being estimated at 8,400,000, gives the number of 169 inhabitants to a square mile.

The face of the country is, in general, variegated and beautiful. In some parts verdant plains, extending as far as the eye can reach, covered with numerous flocks and herds, exhibit a scene of rural opulence; in others, gently swelling hills and bending vales, fertile in corn or waving with wood, regale the eye with delightful landscapes.

There are several mountains in England, but none of them remarkable for their height. Wales is a mountainous country.

The rivers of England are numerous, but the principal are the Thames, the Severn, and the Humber; which contribute exceedingly to its inland navigation and commerce.

Canals, which serve as a substitute for rivers, are interesting, not only to the geographer and trader, but also to the philosopher and statesman: as they contribute in no small degree, to mark the genius of a nation, and its progress in science. The first canal made in England, expressly for the

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purpose of inland navigation, is that of Sankey; cut, in order to convey coals from the pits at St. Helen's to Liverpool, for which the act of Parliament was procured A. D. 1753. So recent is the date of this great plan of national improvement.

The Duke of Bridgewater was the founder of inland navigation in Britain. His opulence and enterprising spirit, in conjunction with the consummate genius of Brindley, carried into successful execution, designs, which, although of the greatest national importance, had never before been attempted. His first canal, which was intended for the purpose of conveying coal from his pits to Manchester, commences near Worsley Mills, about seven miles from that town. This canal runs through a hill, by a subterraneous passage, (sufficiently large for the admission of long flat-bottomed boats) a distance of three quarters of a mile under ground. The whole length of the navigation is nine miles, before they reach Manchester. The canal is conveyed across the river Irwel by an aqueduct, which rises thirty-nine feet above its bed, and is upwards of six hundred feet in length. The whole expense of this stupendous work, in the comparative cheap state of labour and provisions about the middle of the 18th century, was only computed at a thousand guineas per mile.

The junction of the four principal ports of the kingdom, London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Hull, by an inland navigation, was the grand design of Brindley. A communication was accordingly opened between Liverpool and Hull, by a canal from the Trent to the Mersey. The canal, which connects these two rivers, is ninety-nine miles in length, and is styled the grand trunk; it was begun A. D. 1766, but was not completed until A. D. 1777. In some places it was attended with great difficulties; being carried over the river Dove by an aqueduct of twenty-three arches, and through the hill of Hare-castle by a tunnel of 2880 yards in length, and more than seventy yards below the surface of the ground. This work was executed with great labour and expense; but its utility corresponds with the grandeur of the design. Many of the natural productions of those countries, through which the canal passes, had, by reason of the heavy expenses of land

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carriage, lain useless for ages, but now find their value. The various commodities, both of export and import, find a cheap and easy conveyance, and the merchants and manufacturers of the interior enjoy the benefits of water carriage, almost from their own doors to the principal sea ports; for the Severn now communicates, not only with the Trent and the Mersey, by various courses of navigation, but also with the Thames, by a canal of near forty miles in length, which completes the quadruple intersection of the kingdom.

The minute divisions of inland navigation are so ramified, that scarcely any considerable town, in the whole kingdom, is without the convenience of either a navigable river or a canal. The several parts, considered as forming a grand whole, mark the prosperity and commerce of the country; and will serve to commemorate the grand and liberal views of the Duke of Bridgewater, as well as the self-taught genius of Brindley.

England cannot boast of gold or silver among the variety of her mineral productions, although a trifling quantity of the former has, in several places, been found; and the English lead ore contains a small mixture of the latter; but in the abundance and excellence of her coal and tin, she stands unrivalled. Since the English have discovered the method of manufacturing their tin, it has proved an article incalculably beneficial to the nation. The coal pits of Northumberland are of still greater value than the tin mines of Cornwall; and, ultimately, more beneficial to England, than those of Potosi to Spain. The veins were discovered only about the commencement of the fifteenth century, and from them Newcastle principally derives its opulence. The mines of Northumberland furnish London, annually, with about 600,000 chaldrons of coal; in consequence of which, 1500 vessels are employed in carrying so vast a supply to the metropolis, besides the number required for a very considerable exportation of this useful commodity to foreign countries. Mines of lead, iron, and copper, are found in England.

Stone, of various kinds, for building and other purposes, is plentiful in many districts. The slate of Westmoreland is unrivalled for elegance of colour and fineness of texture.

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Pottery-clays and fullers'-earth are among the valuable earths. Of fossil salt there is an inexhaustible store in the rock salt pits of Cheshire, and the brine springs of that county and Worcestershire.

Mineral waters occur in many parts. The warm springs of Bath and Buxton are of peculiar note: the waters of Tunbridge, Cheltenham, Harrowgate, and various others, are celelebrated for different medicinal properties, according to their several impregnations.

The inhabitants of Great Britain are compounded of a variety of races, indistinguishably blended. At the time of the Roman invasion, the natives were of Celtic blood. To these, a foreign addition was made by the conquerors. The Saxon invaders poured in a great mass of German population, which took possession of the best parts of the island, and confined the remaining Celts to the mountains of Wales, and the Scotch highlands, where their posterity, to this day, retain their language and national characteristics. The Danes, in their frequent and destructive inroads, seized upon many districts on the sea coast, especially on the eastern side of the island, and became permanent settlers. The Normans, next, gave a new set of great proprietors to the lands, and an infusion of their blood and language. Refugees from the continent, and an influx of natives of different countries, attracted by commerce and lucrative employments, have, in later times, been continually adding to the variety of sources. On the whole, however, the main stock may be regarded as similar to that of the Teutonic nations of Europe; a dialect of whose language is the base of the English and Scotch tongue.

England, although it be in general as productive as most other countries, contains, like them, a visible mixture of fertility and barrenness. It owes as much of its abundance to the efforts of agriculture, as to its natural fertility.

No country perhaps on the globe has a more variable climate than England, or an atmosphere more frequently loaded with clouds. From the extreme changeableness of the temperature, proceeds the frequency of colds and catarrhs, which are often the source of other disorders, and particularly of con-

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sumption, a disease more common perhaps in England than in any other country. To the moist and foggy climate, in conjunction with the great use of animal food, may likewise be ascribed that melancholy, which, by some foreigners, has been considered as a national characteristic, as well as the general prevalence of the rheumatism and scurvy. In a climate, so mutable, it is difficult to speak with precision on the commencement, duration, and end of the seasons. Frosty nights are not uncommon in the middle of June; summer often exhibits an appearance of winter; and the month of December is not unfrequently tinctured with the mildness of May.

England has mostly been regarded as a country extremely fertile in grain; but, from the present system of farming, the progressive increase of population, and other accidental causes, it does not, at this time, produce a sufficient quantity for the supply of its home consumption.

The inadequacy of the supply of corn, produced in England, to the national consumption, from whatever cause it proceeds, seems to have commenced since the peace of 1763, and to have become more perceptible since A. D. 1767. From that time the evil has gradually increased, and, in 1795, it arose to an alarming magnitude. From 1782 to 1793, the annual deficiency amounted, on an average, to 587,165 quarters,* and that of the year 1795, was increased to 1,764,163 quarters. This extraordinary deficit, appears to have been chiefly owing to the failure of the two preceding crops; but it is somewhat more difficult to account for the uniform, or rather constantly increasing annual deficiency, especially when the large tracts of waste lands, lately brought into cultivation, are taken into the estimate of productive agriculture. The grazing system of English farming is generally assigned as the principal cause; but a variety of others undoubtedly concur to produce this effect. A growing population, and increased luxury may be allowed to have their due weight; but perhaps no existing circumstance has a greater share in causing a scarcity of grain, than the almost incalculable number of horses kept for a va-

* Middleton's View of Middlesex, p. 481.

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riety of purposes. If any credit be given to Mr. Middleton's computation, scarcely less than one fourth of the arable lands in Great Britain, is destined to their support.

Amidst the modern improvements of husbandry, the extent of waste land is still astonishing. The first report of the committee, appointed by the house of commons, to inquire into these matters, stated the cultivated lands of England and Wales at 39,000,000, and those, yet in an uncultivated state, at 7,888,777 acres. Of the latter, no more than 500,000 are considered as wholly unimproveable.

Almost every production of every clime is found in English gardens and hot houses, where, the deficiency of solar heat is so amply supplied, that many of the tropical flowers and fruits, especially pine apples, are successfully cultivated. The kitchen gardens abound in all sorts of greens, roots, and other productions of horticulture. The general and successful cultivation of clover, saintfoin, lucern, and a variety of other grass seeds, must be considered as an important branch of British agriculture.

Among the vegetable productions of England, its timber, especially its oaks, merit particular notice. With the exception of the live oak of Carolina and Georgia, these are not excelled in any country of the globe. It is scarcely to be doubted, that the quantity of timber in England has, from time immemorial, been decreasing, but this is a circumstance common to all cultivated and well peopled countries; and, it is equally evident, that this must still continue to be the case, wherever population is increased, and agriculture improved. If we extend our views into futurity, it may be presumed that a time must come, when public regulations, for the preservation and the planting of timber, will be found indispensably necessary. In regard to Great Britain, it is to be observed, that, while she maintains her commercial and naval superiority, she can easily procure supplies of this necessary article; and the inexhaustible abundance of her coal will prevent her timber from decreasing so rapidly, as in those countries where wood is the only fuel that can be procured.

The gloominess and moisture of the atmosphere of Eng-

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land, exceedingly contribute to that almost perpetual verdure which clothes the fields, and produces abundance of sustenance for man and beast. This, perhaps, is the principal cause of that perfection to which its various animals so easily attain. Its climate is peculiarly adapted to pasturage; for while the clear summer skies of several continental countries present no obstacles to the operation of the solar heats, an unclouded atmosphere is seldom observed for any length of time in England. For the most part, even in the finest season, a canopy of clouds affords a shade to the pastures, and the cattle with which they are covered. This physical cause of animal perfection, has been admirably seconded by the landable exertions and judicious management of the English gentry, and opulent farmers, in improving the different breeds, by every mode of intermixture. The general solicitude which has been manifested, and the incredible industry and expense that have been bestowed in improving the breed of that noble and useful animal the horse, have been recompensed with a success, corresponding to those endeavours. The English horses are superior to any others in the world, as they now unite all the beauties and perfections of the Persian, Arabian, Spanish, and other foreign breeds. The period of time, at which horses were first introduced into this island, is wholly unknown; but its deficiency in that noble animal was never more conspicuous, than when the Spanish Armada appeared upon the coast, A. D. 1588. One of the reasons, which induced the Spaniards to assure themselves of success, in case they made good their landing, was their knowledge of the weakness of the English cavalry. In that moment of extreme danger, the ministry, after making the strictest inquiries, found, that in the whole kingdom, no more than 3000 horses could be relied on as fit for military service.* This circumstance is one of those striking particulars, which strongly mark the change that, within the space of little more than two centuries, has taken place in the state of this country. At that time, tolerable horses could no where be found, but in the stables of the

* Campbell's Polit. Survey, vol. ii. p. 193.

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nobility and principal gentry, who were far from being numerous. This, however, was the æra from which the improvement of English horses dates its commencement. The first circumstance, to which it owes its origin, arose from that formidable armament, which threatened the subjugation of the kingdom; for, after the defeat and dispersion of the Spanish Armada, a great number of their horses came on shore. The English horses, which in 1588, were beyond comparion inferior to those of France, Spain, and Italy, have now gained a decided superiority over every breed on the continent.

Horned cattle and sheep have undergone a similar process of improvement. Of late years, not only the opulent farmers and country gentlemen, but many of the principal nobility have vied with each other, in their laudable exertions for carrying the breeds of the most useful domestic animals to the highest possible degree of perfection. English oxen unite all the qualities that can be introduced by a judicious intermixture, and the various breeds of sheep have been so much improved that, in the fineness of their wool, they yield only to those of Spain. It has, by some, been supposed that twelve millions of fleeces are annually shorn, worth, on an average, 5s. per fleece. If to this, we annex the immense profits arising from the manufacturing of the wool into cloth, and reflect on the numerous population employed and supported by the various branches of this trade, the value of sheep, as a source of national opulence, will be obvious.*

Few countries are better supplied with fish than England. The fisheries, particularly of herrings, pilchards, salmon, and mackarel, contribute in no small degree to the employment and support of considerable numbers of the inhabitants.

England contains several natural curiosities. Those of the peak in Derbyshire are the most distinguished, especially the celebrated cavern at Castleton, which extends nearly, in a horizontal direction, 750 yards under the base of the mountain.

* These facts, in connexion with the recent importation of merino sheep, hold out brilliant prospects to the United states. Their fleeces, on an average, are in this country worth two dollars, and their number may easily be increased to fifty millions before the present century be ended.

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A clear torrent, issuing out of the ground at its extremity, runs the whole length, almost to its mouth, and then loses itself in a subterraneous channel. The entrance, at the head of a narrow valley between perpendicular rocks of about 200 yards in height, is singularly noble and majestic. Middleton Dale is also a grand feature of nature, being a deep valley or vast chasm, extending with little curvature near two miles, between almost perpendicular rocks of 150 yards in height, and in several places presenting the appearance of towers and ruined castles.

The lakes of Cumberland are a grand scene of attraction to summer tourists. It would be to no purpose to attempt, in a narrow compass, a description of beauties on which volumes have been written.*

The submarine relics of a forest on the coast of Lincolnshire, and the immense number of trees found at the depth of from three to six feet, under the surface, throughout the great Yorkshire level, are worthy of notice. Some of these trees appear to have been overturned by the winds; others hewed down by the axe, and not a few bear evident marks of fire. A great part of this subterraneous timber consists of oaks, perfectly sound, except on the outside; and some of them of a very large size. We cannot omit the remarkable cavern near the village of Berrington in Somersetshire, in which are seen a number of human bones, gradually incorporating with the limestone rock. There is a continual dripping which deposits a stalactitic sediment on the bones, and several nodules contain perfect human skulls. This cavern was discovered only a few years ago; but at what time, or on what occasion these bones were deposited there, is unknown.

Almost the whole country of Wales will, to an eye that delights in contemplating the magnificent scenery of nature, be considered as an assemblage of curiosities. The beautiful scenery of Wales has been celebrated in the picturesque descriptions of Gilpin, the sober narrative of Pennant, and the

* Vide Espriella's Letters from England, which contain a most masterly description of its romantic scenery.

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vivid and sentimental language of Pratt; but it is impossible to give adequate sketches of the countless charms that nature displays in her living volume, in every page of which, she presents something new or beautiful.

The remains of antiquity in England may be classed under the heads of British, Roman and Saxon. Among the most celebrated of these remains is Stonehenge. This stupendous monument of early times is situated on Salisbury plain. It is a regular circular structure of two concentric circles, and two ovals; the upright stones are placed at three feet, and a half asunder, and joined at the top by overthwart stones with tenons fitted to the mortises in the uprights, in order to retain them in their position. Some of these stones are of an enormous size, measuring two yards in breadth, one in thickness, and above seven in height. The exterior circle is nearly sixty yards in diameter; the walk, between which, and the inner circle, has an awful and impressive effect on the spectator. The magnificence of Stonehenge makes it probable, that it was the place of the great assembly of the nation; and if this idea be admitted, its antiquity may perhaps be extended beyond the Christian era.

The Roman antiquities consist of altars and monumental inscriptions, which often inform us of the legionary stations in this country, and sometimes of the names of the commanders. Remains of amphitheatres, and also of Roman encampments are in many places yet visible; but the most perfect specimen of the former, and perhaps of the latter, is seen in the neighbourhood of Dorchester. Its form is elliptical. It encloses about an acre of ground, and, according to Dr. Stukely's calculation, was capable of containing 12,960 persons.

Private cabinets, as well as public repositories, contain a great variety of the more minute relics of Roman antiquities; such as coins, weapons, utensils, and ornaments. The tesselated pavements, hypocausts, &c., which are found in many parts, are the remains of the villas of opulent Romans, scattered over the country. The most stupendous monument of the Roman power is the wall of Severus, which runs from Tinmouth to Solway Frith. Of all the vestiges

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which remain of the Romans, their highways give us the grandest idea of their civil and military policy. Conscious that, without means of communication, neither commerce nor society can make any considerable progress, they paid particular attention to the construction of roads in every country under their dominion: these roads formed one of the great causes of that civilization, which they introduced into the conquered provinces; and evidently shew the extent of their views. Their vestiges may in England be traced in various ramifications. The road called Watling street, led from Richborough in Kent, through London, St. Albans, Dunstable, &c. to Chester. The great via militaris, called Herman Street, passed from London to Lincoln, and thence to Carlisle. But it would be an endless task to enumerate all those vestiges of Roman roads, which branched out in almost every direction, that general conveniency and expedition required.

The Saxon antiquities consist chiefly of churches and castles; but neither distinguished by magnificence nor size. Of those which yet remain, the plain round arch designates the Saxon architecture.

Among the artificial curiosities of England, the bridges of cast iron, although of a modern date, are not the least interesting. That, erected over the Severn in Shropshire, was the first example; but the most stupendous work of this kind, is the bridge thrown over the harbour of Sunderland a few years ago, the height of which is 100; and the span of the arch 236 feet. Its elegance, lightness and prodigious dimensions, excite universal admiration.

London, the metropolis of the British empire, is situated in 51° 31′ north latitude; on the banks of the Thames, in an extensive valley about nine miles in breadth.

Authentic history makes no mention of London previous to the time of Nero. Tacitus speaks of it, as having been a great emporium of trade, which authorises a supposition, that it must have been founded as early as the reign of Claudius, when the Romans first established themselves in this island. The exports, consisted of cattle, hides, corn and slaves. The interior of this country, in this respect, exhibit-

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ed nearly the same picture as modern Africa; and wars, among the petty chiefs in the parts yet unsubdued, were promoted for the same iniquitous purpose of procuring slaves for exportation.* How agreeable the contrast which modern times exhibit.

A vast forest in A. D. 1150, entirely covered the northern side of London, from its western extremity, to Moorfields; which was then entirely a morass; and generally flooded. To form an idea of the valley, in which the metropolis of Britain, is situated, as it existed before the industry of an immense population altered its appearance, we must represent to ourselves, all the north side of the Thames covered with a vast forest, and all the ground on the south side of the river, as far as the hills of Kent, and Surry, exhibiting to the eye nothing, but a watery morass. If, to the contrast between the primitive and present scenery, we add that of the inhabitants, and place in the back ground of the paiture, the savage Briton, half naked or covered with skins, and painted; the face of the globe does not furnish a spot, which displays, in a more striking manner, the effects of commerce and civilization of a free constitution and equitable laws.

London, as it at present exists, is a city of extraordinary extent, population, wealth and trade. Few great capitals can boast of a more salubrious situation than it has acquired, through the improvement of art, ingrafted on the advantages of nature, and removing her defects and deformities. The old city of London, (or that part of the metropolis which is included within its ancient dimensions,) is situated on an eminence, of which the greatest elevations cannot be much less than thirty feet perpendicular, above the high water mark of the river; and the subjacent soil is pure gravel. Several parts, also, of the suburbs have a similar situation, dry, and moderately elevated. Such as were formerly low and level are so much raised by the earth from the lower apartments of continous houses, and so well drained by extensive sewers, that they are not incommoded with moisture, but are agreeable

* Strabo lib. 4. p. 265.

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and healthful. In traversing Moorfields, Finsbury square, and the elegant streets in their vicinity, a person would scarcely suppose himself to be treading on ground that was once an impassable morass. Such are the changes, which civilization and commerce, produce on the surface of this terraqueous globe.

London is about 6 miles long, and from one to 3 broad; and about eighteen miles in circumference. It is supplied with excellent water from the Thames, the New River, and the spring near Hampstead. Although the swell of the tide is perceptible in the Thames as far as Staines, its waters, at London, have no brackish taste, and being raised by machinery, and conducted by pipes to all the contiguous parts of the town, serve for every domestic use.

The irregularity of many of the streets, with the narrow and disgusting lanes and avenues, which lead to several parts of London, tend greatly to diminish the grandeur of its appearance. These blemishes are more or less observable in all great cities, which being constructed by parts, and receiving occasional aggrandizements, can seldom admit of a regular, uniform, and comprehensive plan. The rebuilding of the city, after the great conflagration in 1666, was certainly the best possible opportunity for its general improvement. Much was then done, and though all was not, which might have been, we ought not to wonder, that in so pressing an emergency, both public and private attention should have been directed to conveniency and despatch, rather than to elegance. The good taste which at present prevails, promises in some measure to compensate former defects. The new streets are spacious, regular, and elegant. No city in the world can vie with London in the multitude of its shops, and the rich display of their various commodities. The nocturnal illuminations, besides their conveniency, form an embellishment of the grandest style. They extend on all sides to the distance of three or four miles; and, when viewed from advantageous stands, exhibit a brilliant spectacle, impressing on the mind the idea, and combining in the eye the effects, of grandeur and elegance.

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Westminster abbey, a venerable gothic pile, the sacred repository of the remains of princes, statesmen, warriors, poets, philosophers, and other eminent persons of all periods, ranks, and professions, is an impressive object; and the view of its sepulchral monuments is eminently adapted to excite in the contemplative mind, a just sense of the transitory nature of all sublunary things. It was first founded about A. D. 610, and rebuilt A. D. 1049. The present edifice was the work of Henry III. On the other side of the street, nearly opposite to the abbey, are the two houses of parliament, and Westminster hall. The latter is supposed to be the largest room in Europe, being 270 feet long, and 74 wide. It has a Gothic roof consisting, chiefly, of chestnut wood.

The tower, venerable from ancient fame, and remarkable for the curiosities which it contains, was founded by William the Conqueror. Near London bridge the monument, a pillar 193 feet high, commemorates the great conflagration. The East India House, the Royal Exchange, the Bank, and the Mansion House, are less to be considered for their magnificence than for their importance, and the ideas of commerce and opulence which they excite. Somerset house, in the Strand, is an elegant specimen of modern architecture, and, being the seat of the public offices, and of the Royal Society and Academy, inspire ideas of the power of the nation, and the splendour of the sciences and arts. The Pantheon, an elegant edifice, constructed on the model of the ancient temple of that name at Rome, is dedicated to public amusement. The three great bridges over the Thames, constitute a magnificent feature of the British metropolis. The first bridge was of wood; but one of stone was begun in 1176, and finished in 1209. Westminster bridge was completed in 1747, at an expense of 389,500l. Its length is 1223 feet.

London cannot vie with Paris in the number of places of amusement, but there is not, perhaps, in any part of the globe, a more brilliant assemblage of dramatic talents than is at this period displayed on the British stage. Two royal theatres, Drury-lane and Covent-garden, which are open nine months in the year, may, in some respects, vie with any in Europe.

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The Opera house is open in winter, and until midsummer, for Italian operas and French ballets, in which are combined all the charms of music, dancing, scenery, and decoration. Ranelagh and Vauxhall are scenes of amusement, equally splendid and pleasing.

The population of London was variously estimated, and generally over-rated, until the late census afforded a correct statement. The actual returns, with conjectural estimates for sailors and strangers, extend the total population to 900,000; but a population of 1,000,000 is comprised within a circle extended to the distance of eight miles round St. Paul's cathedral. Although the population of the whole metropolis has, in the last century, increased more than one-fourth part, that of the old city of London has diminished nearly one half. The suburbs being extended on all sides, the gentry, and opulent merchants, remove from the city to those parts that are more airy, salubrious, and pleasant; and although the metropolis increases so rapidly in extent, its population does not increase in the same proportion as that of the kingdom in general. At the commencement of the last century, London contained about an eighth; while, at the present period, it contains, somewhat less than a tenth part of the whole population of England and Wales. From the late bills of mortality it appears, that the annual deaths, on five years average, amounted only to one in thirty-one, a less proportion of mortality than can be met with in any other great capital. It appears that in the middle of the last century, the proportion was about one in twenty-three. These variations may sometimes be the result of accidental and temporary causes; but the extension of its formerly crowded population, over so much larger a space, has undoubtedly had a most salutary effect on the health of the British metropolis.

Another cause of the salubrity of London may be discovered in the food of its inhabitants. No other great city exists in the eastern continent, where the middle and lower classes of people enjoy so great a share of the necessaries and comforts of life. 10,000 acres of ground in the vicinity are

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cultivated for vegetables, and four thousand acres for fruits to supply the consumption of the metropolis.

Visionary writers have often complained of the increasing magnitude of London, representing it as a head too large for the body. Laws have, in former ages, been repeatedly made to restrain its extension. Experience, however, has invariably demonstrated that the flourishing state of the capital has ever been the best criterion of the prosperity of the nation.

The distinguishing feature of London is its extensive and multifarious commerce, of which no description can raise adequate ideas. Of a picture so vast, so complex, and so various, it would here be in vain to attempt to trace so much as the outlines; the slightest glance on its most prominent traits is sufficient to confound the mind in contemplating its grandeur and extent. A view of the East India house (leading us to reflect on the vast Asiatic possessions of Britain) excites the most sublime ideas on the effects of commercial enterprise, and the revolutions of mundane affairs, when we recollect that which Britain now reigns over. In that, the affairs of the Ganges are decided on the banks of the Thames, and that the British monarch extends his dominion, in Asia, beyond the limits to which Alexander extended his conquests. The West India docks exhibit a spectacle, not less attractive and astonishing, nor less calculated to excite a magnificent idea of the commercial greatness of London.

To particularise the various branches of the foreign trade, would exceed all reasonable limits. A view of the port of London can alone enable us to form any general conception of the subject. The annual value of its exports and imports are at present stated at sixty millions; and the annual value of its customs at six millions. This immense commerce employs 3500 ships, British and foreign; of which there are, on an average, 1,100 always in the river and docks, together with 3,419 barges and other small craft, employed in lading and unlading them; while 2,288 of the latter description, with 3000 wherries, or small boats, are engaged in the inland trade. The cargoes, which arrive annually in the port, are not fewer than 13,400; 8000 watermen are constantly employ-

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ed in navigating the wherries and craft, and 4000 labourers, in lading and unlading ships. These, with 1200 revenue officers, attending their duty on the river, besides the crews of the several vessels, exhibit an active scene, extending the space of six miles on the Thames.

The manufactures of London are often overlooked amidst its more prominent features of commerce. In respect, however, both of magnitude and value, they are very important. Under this head, the brewing of porter deserves to be mentioned. Of this, about 1,200,000 barrels, of 36 gallons, are, on an average, annually produced, chiefly by twelve principal brewers. This salubrious and invigorating liquor was invented A. D. 1730, by one Harwood. Being found a hearty and nourishing liquor for porters and other laborious people, it obtained the name of porter, by which it is now so celebrated. A great London brewery exhibits a stupendous and magnificent spectacle. In Mr. Whitbread's brewery, there is a stone cistern which contains 3,600 barrels, and 49 oak vats, some of which contain 3,500 barrels. There are three boilers, each of which contains 5000 gallons. The casks of ordinary dimensions are in number about 20,000; 200 workmen are employed, with 80 horses of a very large size. In the upper part of the building are cooling cisterns, that would cover five acres of land, they are only six inches deep, but very tight, and kept very clean. The porter cools in these, generally, in six hours. The machinery which pumps the water, wort, and beer; grinds the malt; stirs the mash tubs, when requisite; and raises the casks out of the cellars, is wrought by one of Mr. Watt's steam engines; it is able to do the work of 70 horses, although it is of a small size, and does not make more noise than a spinning wheel. This brewery, in respect both of magnitude and ingenious contrivance, may be justly considered as one of the greatest curiosities that is any where to be seen. Near half a million of pounds sterling is employed in the buildings, machinery, and utensils, which constitute the whole apparatus.

The cotton, furs, sugar, and fish, from the continent of America, and its adjacent islands, are sources of national

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wealth to Great Britain, in addition to the materials for manufactures and commerce, which are of English growth.

From the toleration, which the legislature of England grants to all religious denominations, London is distinguished for the number and variety of its places of divine worship; besides 116 churches and 62 chapels of the established religion, it contains 11 Roman Catholic chapels, 17 churches and chapels belonging to foreign Protestants, 6 Jewish synagogues, and 132 meeting houses, belonging to different sects of Protestant dissenters, making a total of 344. Next to the religious aspect of the metropolis, we may view, in the multitude of its institutions for the relief of the indigent, in their various wants and distresses, a striking feature of its moral portrait. The sum, annually expended in charitable uses, has been estimated at 850,000l. exclusive of the private relief given to individuals. The police, though regular, is far from being rigid. As few crimes of a sanguinary nature are committed in London as in any place, perhaps in the world, in proportion to its extent and population.

The British metropolis cannot boast of any great degree of magnificence; in this respect, it is inferior to many great capitals of the modern as well as the ancient world; but in commerce it far exceeds every one of them. In regard to wealth it may claim an equal superiority, unless we may admit ancient Rome as an exception. London exhibits less of the contrast between the ostentatious display of exorbitant wealth, and the squalid wretchedness of extreme poverty, than any other capital of Europe: its distinguishing characteristic is the comfortable existence and decent appearance of the middle and lower classes of the people.

The environs of London exhibit a grand and interesting spectacle of opulence; extensive streets, villas, and houses, running in every direction to the distance of five or six miles, present to the eye a vast continuation of the metropolis. Elegant houses, flourishing manufactures, fertile gardens, and luxuriant pastures, display the appearance of wealth and plenty.

Among the provincial towns Liverpool may claim the pre-

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cedeney. In 1792 it employed 132 vessels in the African trade. The number of ships, which paid duty at this port, in the year 1752, was 1371 : and in 1794 it amounted to 4,265, being an increase in the space of thirty-seven years of three to one. In the American war, between the 1st of September, 1778, and the beginning of May in the year following, Liverpool sent out 170 privateers.

Liverpool was only a village at the commencement of the last century. The dock was made A. D. 1710, at which time it began to make some figure in commerce. In 1760 the number of its inhabitants was estimated at 25,787. In 1787, they amounted to 56,670; but cannot now be estimated at less than 80,000. With the sole exception of Petersburg, no town in Europe exhibits so rapid an improvement.

Newcastle upon Tyne is situated in the centre of the great coal mines which have for some centuries supplied, not only the metropolis, but most of the eastern and southern parts of the kingdom with that excellent fuel. The coal fleets sometimes amount to 500 sail. The large carts loaded with coals, proceeding towards the port on inclined planes, without the assistance of either horses or men, are to a stranger a spectacle, not less surprising than curious.* The neighbourhood of Newcastle abounds with glass-houses, and the manufacture of the article is there carried to great perfection.

Few towns in England have made greater improvements than Hull. Its situation can scarcely be paralleled for commercial advantages. It commands a very great inland trade, and is equally adapted to foreign commerce. The capacious dock on the north side of the town opens into the river Hull. Another, now cutting on the western side, will open into the Humber. When this work is completed, the town will be almost entirely insulated, and surrounded with harbours and quays, exhibiting an assemblage of commercial conveniencies which very few ports can boast.

Whitehaven, in Cumberland, consisted, in 1666, of no more than six houses. At present it is a large, populous, and well

* St. Fond, Voy. en Angleterre.

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built town, and, next to Newcastle, is the principal port in England for the coal trade. The coal mines, in its vicinity, are a singular curiosity. They are sunk to the depth of 272 yards, and are extended to the distance of a mile and a half under the sea, where above them the water is of sufficient depth to carry the largest vessels.

Bristol gradually rose to eminence during the Saxon period, and in the reign of Henry II. was so opulent and flourishing, that he granted to it the possession of Dublin in Ireland, to to which place a colony from Bristol was transported. At that period the port of Bristol was crowded with vessels from Ireland, Norway, and various other parts of Europe. Its commerce, since the rise of Liverpool, has gradually declined, and a great part of its trade with the West Indies and America is transferred to the latter port. Bristol, notwithstanding, is yet a place of great trade and opulence, as well as an excellent port. Its quay is one of the finest that any commercial city of Europe can boast. In 1787, Bristol employed about 416 vessels in the foreign, and 1,600 in the coasting trade. Its foreign commerce is chiefly with the West Indies, North America, and the Baltic. In opulence, Bristol is generally ranked next to the metropolis, and 80,000 is the number of its population. At present Bristol is undergoing very considerable improvements, by the construction of new floating docks, upon a very extensive scale.

Bath, though not a sea port, being the most elegant town in England, merits insertion in this place. The hot baths, from which it derives its name, were known in the Roman times, and have acquired great celebrity. The waters are used both internally and externally, and are esteemed extremely beneficial in gouty, bilious, and paralytic cases. Bath is not frequented solely by valetudinarians. It is the grand resort of persons of rank and fortune. In some seasons the concourse of visitors exceeds 3,000, of whom more than two-thirds are attracted by the charms of society, and the scenes of amusement, in which Bath is inferior only to London.

Yarmouth is a town of considerable trade, and particularly remarkable for its herring fishery, which now employs about

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150 vessels. About the end of the fourteenth century the inhabitants became so powerful at sea, that they frequently attacked their neighbours, and in these encounters great loss was sometimes sustained on both sides. The royal authority was at last exerted to check this turbulent spirit, and it was soon after extinguished by the great plague, which in one year carried off 7,000 of the inhabitants, a number probably not less than nine-tenths of its population.

Portsmouth is the grand naval arsenal of England. Its capacious harbour is formed by a bay of from five to six miles in length, and from two to four in breadth, having a narrow entrance, secured by strong fortifications. Portsmouth is the best, and most regularly fortified place in the kingdom.

Across the mouth of the harbour is Gosport, a populous town, inhabited chiefly by sailors and artificers. Near to it is the famous road of Spithead, the grand focus of naval armament. Portsmouth, with the vast assemblage of maritime objects by which it is surrounded, presents a most striking spectacle.

Plymouth, which is next to Portsmouth in maritime importance, is situated in a bay called Plymouth Sound, sufficiently capacious to contain a thousand sail of ships. Here are docks, arsenals, and every thing necessary for fitting out ships of war. Its trade, although flourishing, depends chiefly on the royal navy.

Dock town is the most populous in Devonshire, it stands on a pleasant eminence, and although of such considerable magnitude, is only of modern date, and owes its origin and rapid increase to the establishment of the dock yard and naval arsenals. The number of its inhabitants, according to the late parliament survey, was 23,747; but this is not the whole of the population that crowds its busy streets. The number of inns, in the late war, amounted to 200; but the magistrates have since that time limited them to 100. The inhabitants are chiefly composed of persons belonging to the navy, or small shopkeepers, retail dealers, and some wholesale dealers. These, with a variety of mechanics, make up, almost, the whole population. This place seems not to be

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adapted to the cultivation of intellect. The military and naval officers or persons attached to the army or navy are the only individuals, who are distinguished by literary attainments. The fluctuations occasioned by the alternate operations of peace and war, have hitherto prevented the society of this place from acquiring any permanent feature. Under the influence of these opposite causes, it exhibits a surprising contrast. Peace is almost annihilation to it. Trade then stagnates; speculation expires; numerous shops and houses are shut up; the streets are silent; inactivity and despondency pervade every place. War, instantly changes the scene. A new spirit is suddenly diffused, and the greatest ardour and industry prevail. The frequent equipment and return of fleets occasions the expenditure of immense sums of money; and multitudes of speculators resort hither, from all parts of the kingdom, to participate in the spoil. Shops of every description open in endless succession; not a house is vacant; clamour and bustle pervade the streets; and at length the whole place resembles a fair.

The prodigality and credulity of seamen have long been proverbial. The inconsistent and thoughtless profusion of this singular class of men, their frolics, their credulity, and the impositions practised on them, would, altogether, form a curious detail. Extravagance, however, is not confined to them. The artificers in the dock yard, and many of the inhabitants evince a similar disposition. Prodigality seems to be the order of the day. This superfluity, however, is principally lavished in personal decoration and luxurious living. This is not merely a delineation of the moral scenery of Dock town; but, with some circumstantial variations of shade and colouring, may be considered as applicable to Brest, Toulon, and in some degree, to several other places, which are the theatres of similar transactions, and where similar modes of life are displayed.

York has long ago obtained the pre-eminence among the inland towns. This city, the chief of a very extensive, populous, and commercial province, may in some measure be regarded as the capital of the north of England; being the

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winter residence of a great number of the gentry of those parts. York is eminently distinguished in history, and few have suffered more grievous calamities from war, especially during the Danish invasions. This city has been honoured with the presence of several Roman emperors. Adrian fixed there his head quarters, during his stay in Britain; Severus lived for some time, and at last died at York; and Constantius Chlorus made it, for several years, the imperial residence. Constantius ended his life at York, and there the great Constantine, his son, was invested with the purple. This city, of which the walls are yet nearly entire, is nearly three miles in circuit; but its population is far from corresponding with its extent, and its trade is inconsiderable. In the time of the Romans, York was not only the focus of their power and the central point of their military stations; but also the emporium of the northern parts of England. The largest vessels, used in the Roman, Saxon, and Norman times, could sail up the Ouse as far as York; but when the science of naval architecture was improved, and ships of much larger dimensions were constructed, the situation was found unsuitable to a mercantile city. The trade was gradually removed to Hull, and in proportion as the latter increased, York declined. Its cathedral is the largest and most magnificent Gothic structure in England.

Manchester was anciently a small Roman station. It long remained in obscurity, and in the reign of Elizabeth first began, by its manufactures, to rise into notice. In the middle of the last century, its population fell short of 20,000; but since that time, it has been quadrupled. The cotton manufactures of this place are known and esteemed throughout Europe. The stupendous machinery, to which they owe so much of their improvement, exhibits an astonishing display of the powers of human art and industry; and are a splendid monument of the original and self-taught genius of Arkwright.*

* This distinguished and extraordinary character, whose admirable ingenuity and perseverance raised him from the humble occupation of a barber

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Birmingham, a large manufacturing town of Warwickshire, is situated on the side of a hill in a dry and pleasant country. It may be considered as a vast assemblage of manufactories in all the various branches of hardware, buckles, buttons,

to honour and affluence, was born A. D. 1732, at Preston, in Lancashire, where a considerable manufacture of mixed linen and cotton goods was carried on, of which he had an opportunity of viewing the various operations. Considering the process as imperfect, he directed his thoughts to the improvement of the mode of spinning which had, probably for ages, been conducted on the same plan; and by an unwearied application of his uncommon natural powers, at length, produced an invention, which, in its consequences, has proved a source of national and individual wealth, seldom paralleled in the annals of the world. The difficulties which Mr. Arkwright experienced, during a long season of intense application, were immense. Even, after the construction of his machinery was sufficiently complete to demonstrate its value, he was too poor to bring it into action, by commencing business on his own account; and few were willing to risk the loss of capital on untried projects. Having, however, at length procured some coadjutors, he obtained A. D. 1769, his first patent, for spinning by means of rollers. In conjunction with his partners, he erected, at Nottingham, his first mill, which was wrought by horses; but this method being found too expensive, he erected another, at Cromford, on a larger scale, the machinery of which was put in motion by water. Mr. Arkwright made, afterwards, many improvements in the mode of preparing the cotton for spinning, and invented a variety of ingenious machines for effecting this purpose in the most correct and expeditious manner; for which in 1775, he obtained another patent. He thus completed a series of machinery, so various and complicated, yet so admirably combined, and so well adapted to produce the intended effect, as to excite the admiration of every person who is capable of estimating the difficulties of the undertaking. But that all this should have been accomplished by the unassisted efforts of a man, without education and without any mechanical instruction or experience, must be considered as a most extraordinary circumstance, and as an exhibition of the powers of native genius, equal to any on record in the history of the human mind. The effects were not less wonderful, than the means by which they were produced. His improvements constitute a distinguished feature in the manufacturing system, and are an inexhaustible source of national wealth. Sir Richard Arkwright died at Cromford, in Derbyshire, A. D. 1792, aged sixty, and, although his projects at the first had been ridiculed by some of his acquaintance, he lived to see his conceptions realized in their benefits, both to himself and the public. To this extraordinary man, the inhabitants of the Carolinas and Georgia owe much of their wealth. His machinery increased the demand for cotton, and of course increased its intrinsic value to the great emolument of its cultivators.

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plated articles, jewellery and trinkets, which are here made in so endless a variety, and held in so high estimation, that Mr. Burke called it "the toy shop of Europe." At Mr. Egginton's works, about a mile and a half from the town, we find the lost art of painting glass revived, with a glow of colouring equal to the most beautiful specimens of former ages, and a decided superiority in the design. Near this place, and about two miles from the town, is the Soho, belonging to Mr. Bolton, one of the most remarkable manufactories in the kingdom. It consists of four squares with connecting ranges or streets of shops, ware houses, &c. capable of employing a thousand workmen. The improved steam engines, made by Mr. Bolton and Mr. Watts, may also be ranked among the grand productions of human ingenuity. The air of Birmingham and its neighborhood is remarkably pure; and the instances of longevity are strikingly numerous. Birmingham is, next to Manchester, the greatest manufacturing town in England. Its present population is computed at 60,000. Between the years 1741, and 1790, it received an augmentation of seventy-two streets, containing 4172 houses.*

Sheffield has, ever since the thirteenth century, been distinguished for its manufactures of knives, and various other articles of cutlery; but that of plated goods commenced only about the middle of the last century. In the year 1615, this town contained no more than 2152 inhabitants; in 1755, the population amounted to 12,983: in 1789, it had increased to about 30,000; and, at present, is computed at 45,000. In 1751, the river Don was made navigable to within two miles of Sheffield. This was an incalculable benefit to the town, in facilitating the export of its manufactures, which, until that time, were carried weekly to London on pack horses.

Chester is a place of great antiquity, being of a Roman origin, and is remarkable for the singular construction of its principal streets, which are excavated out of the rock, on which the city is founded, to a considerable depth below the level of the ground. The shops and warehouses are beneath, on a

* Hutton's Hist. of Birmingham. Aikin's Manchester.

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level with the street, to which the passenger descends by stairs, placed at proper distances. This peculiarity of construction gives to the city a singular and striking appearance in the eyes of a stranger.

Exeter, the capital of Devonshire, is for extent and importance, next to Bristol, the principal city in the west of England, and a favourite residence of the gentry, as well as the seat of a considerable foreign and domestic commerce, which consists chiefly of woollen goods manufactured in the counties of Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset, and exported to Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and Germany.

Dorchester is chiefly remarkable for the relics of antiquity in its neighbourhood, and for the beautiful sheep country by which it is surrounded. No less than 170,000 sheep and lambs are supposed to be kept within eight miles of the city, and about 800,000 in the whole county.

ENGLISH ISLES.

The Isle of Wight, situated in the British Channel, is of an oval form, its greatest length from east to west, being about twenty-three, and its greatest breadth, from north to south, thirteen miles. The air is salubrious, and the soil so fertile that, some years ago, its produce, in corn, equalled eight times its consumption. The landscapes are delightful, and several gentleman's seats in this island are constructed in an elegant style. In 1777, its inhabitants were found to amount to 18,024.

Guernsey is about thirty miles in circuit. The face of the country is hilly, the soil not very fertile, but the air is exceedingly salubrious. Jersey is nearly of the same extent, but extremely fertile. Its butter and honey are excellent, and in some years 12,000 hogsheads of cyder have been produced from its numerous orchards. This island gave its name to one of the United States. Sir George Carteret, one of the

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first proprietors of the latter, had been governor of the former. The inhabitants of Guernsey and Jersey, with Sark and Alderney, their appendages, are computed at about 40,000. Their language is French, with an intermixture of English words. Their principal manufacture and staple commodity is knit stockings. These islands, being the remains of the Norman patrimony, preserve the feudal forms, and have an assembly of the states, exhibiting a miniature picture of the British parliament.

The isle of Anglesea, the Mona of Tacitus, the celebrated seat and last refuge of Druidism, merits attention. A person, whose imagination can recal the scenes of ancient days, will not traverse this island, the theatre of a bloody religion, without feeling a kind of awful horror in viewing those places, where, in the gloom of the thickest woods, the Druids performed their tremendous rites, and bathed their altars with the blood of human victims. This island is about twenty-five miles in length, and eighteen in breadth.

The Isle of Man is situated at nearly an equal distance from England, Scotland, and Ireland; and it is said that from the hills in its central part, these three countries may be seen. This island is thirty miles in length, and from eight to fifteen in breadth, and well stored with black cattle and sheep. This small island was seized by the Norwegian rovers in the ninth, and continued till the thirteenth century, an independent kingdom under princes of that nation. Alexander II. king of Scotland, rendered it tributary, and obliged Owen, its king, to acknowledge himself a vassal of that crown. The Scots were expelled in the reign of Edward I. From that time, the kings of England claimed the sovereignty over the island, although it appears to have been for some time possessed by the posterity of its ancient princes, who held it as vassals to the English crown. Passing, afterwards, through various changes, to the ducal family of Athol, the sovereignty was purchased, and annexed to the British crown. One of the most interesting periods, in the history of this island, is the long space of fifty-seven years, during which Dr. T. Wilson presided over its diocese. This excellent prelate, who died

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A. D. 1755, at the age of ninety-three, may be ranked among the greatest and best of those who have adorned the episcopal character. His acts of benevolence, and his judicious improvements in agriculture, learning, and morals throughout his diocese, are too many to enumerate. He was an ornament to human nature. Cardinal Fleury, so highly venerated his character, that out of regard to his virtues, he obtained an order from the court of France, that the Isle of Man should not suffer any depredations from privateers, or other armed vessels of that nation. The inhabitants of this island, who may amount to about 30,000, are inoffensive, hospitable, and remarked for simplicity of manners. The language is radically Erse or Irish, but the gentry speak English. The exports are wool, hides, and tallow; the imports a small quantity of various foreign commodities. The Runic inscriptions and monuments yet to be seen, and the brass daggers and other weapons partly of that metal, and partly of pure gold, which are sometimes dug up, seem to indicate the splendour of this small island, when governed by chiefs of the Danish or Norwegian race.

These are the only considerable islands near the English coast, those of Scilly being little else than a cluster of dangerous rocks, to the number of about 140, at the distance of thirty miles from the Land's End, in Cornwall, fatally remarkable for the destruction of ships and mariners; and rendered memorable by the shipwreck of Admiral Sir Cloudsley Shovel, who perished there in October 1707.

HISTORICAL VIEW.

England was first known to the Phœnicians, who traded hither for tin, at a very remote period of antiquity; and is supposed to have received from them the name of Britannia, expressive of that article, which was then the staple of its commerce. Its earliest inhabitants, undoubtedly, came from

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the opposite coasts of France and Flanders, which were first peopled by the Gauls or Celts. The first authentic information respecting this country, is received from Julius Cæsar, who invaded Britain, A. A. C. 55. Cæsar informs us that the primitive inhabitants were driven into the interior; while the maritime provinces, on the south-east part of the island, were occupied by the Belgæ.* The Britons, at that period, are mostly considered as being in a state of absolute barbarism; but a judicious examination of Cæsar's narrative, will convince us, that although they had made no great advancement in civilization, yet they were far above the rank of savages. They had established systems of government, and the country was divided into a number of sovereignties. On the Roman invasion Cassivellannus was invested with the supreme authority. Their military discipline was far from being contemptible. They had regular forces, consisting of war chariots as well as of infantry. Cæsar allows that they fought, not only with a dauntless courage and steady resolution, but also with astonishing skill and dexterity.

The most remarkable feature in the history of the ancient Britons, was their religion, managed by the Druids. No sacerdotal body ever ruled with more despotic sway, or maintained a more absolute control over the minds and bodies of men. The Druids were the senators who directed all public affairs, and the magistrates who decided all private controversies. They were also the instructors of the people, who received, with implicit belief, whatever opinions they thought fit to inculcate.

As far as Druidism can be investigated, it appears to have been a mixture of polytheism with theism. The Druids, like all other philosophical pagans, acknowledged one supreme and self-existent being, with a number of inferior divinities. Among these the principal was the god of war, whom they worshiped with barbarous rites, and endeavoured to render propitious with human sacrifices. They not only inflicted severe penalties in this world, but also inculcated the trans-

* Comm. lib. 5, cap. 10.

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migration of souls; and thereby extended their influence to varied scenes of existence beyond the grave. They retained in their hands the formidable engine of excommunication, which involved an exclusion from the joys of a future state, and the infliction of eternal punishments. By these means they extended their authority as far as imagination could carry its fears, and maintained an uncontrolled dominion over their votaries. No system of superstition was ever more horrible than theirs; none ever better calculated to impress ignorance with awful terror; and to extort implicit obedience from a deluded people.

With respect to civilization, the Britons seem to have been nearly on a level with the Gauls, the Germans, and other nations of the middle and northern parts of Europe, at that remote period. Agriculture was not unknown among them, they produced corn for their support, and kept various animals for food.

It does not appear that the Britons had either gold or silver among them. The precious metals, indeed, were at that time exceedingly scarce in all those parts of Europe that were distant from Rome, and unsubdued by her arms. The Britons, in their traffic, used instead of money, either rings or small plates of iron. That they had foreign commerce is certain; for besides their Phœnician traffic, the inhabitants of Gaul traded to Britain, in vessels of considerable size.

After the retreat of Julius Cæsar from this island, the civil wars so completely occupied his attention, that he thought no more of Britain; and, for almost a century after, its inhabitants were subject only to their own princes, and governed by their own laws. The Romans, however, still retained their claim, founded on Cæsar's expedition: and the Britons, for the sake of peace and free intercourse with Gaul, endeavoured to preserve their friendship, by paying a small tribute. The reign of Claudius forms the epoch from whence the Roman power, in this island, dates its commencement. In less than twenty years, a regular correspondence with Rome was commenced, and all the marks of an active commerce appeared. The most eminent persons were the first in adopting Roman manners,

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and the petty princes of Britain contributed to enslave themselves, by their imitation of these polished strangers. The Druids alone, among whom all power had concentrated, made every effort to excite the people to rebellion against their new masters. They saw, with regret, the subversion of the ancient constitution, and the consequent extinction of their own power and influence. Their exhortations having great effect on superstitious minds, Suetonius Paulinus, Nero's lieutenant, resolved on their extirpation, and marched to attack the Isle of Mona, now Anglesea, in which was situated their most celebrated sanctuary, and their last retreat. While he was on this expedition, Boadicea headed an insurrection against the Romans. Her fury was first directed against the Roman colony of Verulam, now St. Alban's, which she took by assault, putting all to the sword. Her arms were equally successful against several other cities, which experienced the same treatment. But Paulinus, on his return, defeated her army, and saved the remainder of the Romans.

The Britons, by repeated insurrections, continued, during many years their struggle for national independence. At length Julius Agricola, with a powerful army, reduced to subjection the greatest part of the island, and secured, by a judicious policy, what his arms had subdued. He also resumed the expedition against Mona, and accomplished the destruction or expulsion of the Druids. Gaining by his affability the affections of the people, he disposed them to adopt Roman manners, by conferring on them the name and privileges of citizens; receiving them into his armies; raising them to military promotion; and distinguishing them by honorary rewards, and well timed applause. This great man was indeed the conqueror and the legislator of Britain. Agricola penetrated as far as the Firth of Murray, and defeated the whole force of the Caledonians, under their king Galgacus. The people now entirely conformed to the Roman customs; studied the Latin language; and were governed by the Roman laws. The temples, palaces, baths, and all other edifices, public and private, were constructed after the Roman manner.

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The inhabitants considered themselves as Romans, and regarded their unsubdued countrymen as barbarians.

The Romans made numerous and great improvements, and the Britons were pleased with their situation, and the comforts which it produced. Many of the emperors had a particular regard to the welfare of the province. Walls or intrenchments, were at different periods made for its defence against the inroads of the unsubdued nations in the northern parts. Trajan caused the roads to be completed; and thus rendered the intercourse between the stations easy, safe, and commodious. Adrian visited Britain; and, during his residence in the island, took the most effectual measures for its security, by constructing that famous wall or rampart, which extended frow New Castle to Carlisle.

To protect its inhabitants against the northern marauders, Severus himself came into Britain. This emperor, having repulsed the Caledonians, and repaired the wall of Adrian, died at York. In all the subsequent commotions of the Roman state, Britain had a very considerable share, and several of the commanders, in this distant province, assumed the imperial title and dignity. Constantius Chlorus, after reducing the maritime provinces of Gaul, landed in Britain, and restored the prosperity and peace of the island. Constantius being legally invested with the imperial dignity, resided at York; where, after a long and splendid reign, he died universally lamented. In that city, Constantine his son, was saluted emperor by the army. By his transcendent abilities he obtained the undisputed sovereignty of the whole Roman world; and Divine Providence rendered him the instrument of establishing and extending Christianity. Constantius, who was an enlightened and liberal minded Pagan, had, by the protection of his Christian subjects, rendered Britain an assylum for those of them, who, in the time of the great persecution under Dioclesianus, Maximianus, and Galerius, fled to it for refuge. But Constantius proceeded farther; and, by establishing the Christian religion throughout the whole empire, acquired a lasting celebrity.

A variety of events, similar to those that are recorded in

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all political annals, compose the sequel of the history of Britain, while under the dominion of the Romans. The tedious and uninteresting detail of alternate victories and defeats, of revolts and usurpations, of follies and crimes, is incompatible with the plan of this work.

After the reign of Theodosius, a horrid scene of confusion ensued. It would require volumes to particularize the occurrences of this period of carnage and desolation, and to relate the bloody revolutions which incessantly took place in different provinces of the Roman empire, now harassed by the northern barbarians on every part of its extensive frontier, and rapidly hastening to its fall. This general distress of the empire greatly affected Britain, and rendered her own particular calamities more grievous. The northern parts of the country were ravaged by the Picts and Scots, and the inhabitants looked up to the Romans for that protection to which they had always been accustomed; and which, as long as it could be afforded, they never failed to obtain. The last of the Roman generals, in this island, was Gallio Ravennas; who, having vigorously and successfully repulsed the Picts and Scots, and fortified the frontier wall, exhorted the Britons to take proper measures for the defence of their country, and having given them a variety of political and military instructions, he drew off the whole army to the continent. Thus in the reign of Valentinian III. about A. D. 444, the Romans finally evacuated Britain, after having held it in possession nearly 500 years. In this long period, the Romans had greatly improved the island, and civilized its inhabitants. They had introduced letters and science, as well as a great number of mechanical arts, formerly unknown among the natives. The commerce of the island being extended to every part of the empire, had introduced a tolerable share of wealth. Highways were made; woods cut down; and morasses drained. Agriculture was improved, and a variety of vegetable productions introduced; which contributed to the wealth as well as to the comfortable support of the people.* The relics of Roman science and

* Before the Romans arrived, nuts, acorns, crabs, and a few wild berries,

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civilization in Britain, although for some time overwhelmed in barbarian desolation, served as the basis of Saxon improvements. The Saxons built their towns on the Roman foundations. The Roman colonies were the ground plots of modern cities.

Britain had severely suffered from the arms of the Romans before she derived any advantage from their arts. Besides the numbers who fell by the sword before the Britons were subdued, multitudes were destroyed in draining the morasses, cutting down the woods, raising highways, and constructing fortifications; at once the instruments, and the badges of their subjection. These evils, however, which, at the first had accompanied the Roman conquest, were in the space of four more centuries forgotten; and its beneficial consequences were present to the eyes and the minds of the Britons; who, in their manners and habits of life, were now become Romans. They felt, indeed, in no small degree, the burthens of taxation for the support of the army as well as for the maintenance of a number of civil officers. But under the auspices of Rome, the commerce and wealth of Britain had increased; and from the expenditure incurred by the support of the legion, the inhabitants derived tranquillity and protection. The British youth were frequently promoted in the legions. Corps of troops, entirely British, were also levied and sent to the continent; while foreign soldiers were, according to the maxims of Roman policy, constantly stationed in Britain. No less than twelve different corps of British infantry and cavalry were dispersed in the distant provinces of the empire, from whence very few ever returned. Great numbers of Britons, also, enrolled themselves, and went abroad under the different commanders who assumed the imperial purple. The consequences of those military emigrations were visibly displayed. The armies successively carried over from Britain to the continent, were sufficient to exhaust the military strength of a populous country. Such also of the Britains as had been train-

were originally all the indigenous articles which the woods of Britain produced.

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ed to a seafaring life, served on board the fleet; which, being withdrawn at the same time as the legions, the island was completely stripped of its strength, both naval and military, when it was abandoned by the Romans.

The principal error of the Romans, and the grand source of all the misfortunes which afterwards befel the Britons was, that the former had never completed the conquest of the whole island. This evidently appears to have been the design of Agricola. If Domitian had permitted its accomplishment, beneficial consequences must have resulted. In that case there would have been no need of walls to prevent incursions from the north. After the complete conquest and civilization of the whole island, a much less military force would have been necessary; and, when at last the inroads of the northern nations obliged the Romans to withdraw their legions from the island, in order to concentrate the forces for the protection of their continental dominions, the Britons of the north, and of the south, would have been left all in the same manners, social habits, political institutions and interests, and without any hostile power on the island. In such circumstances, after having chosen a form of government for themselves, they would undoubtedly have had sufficient strength to repel any foreign invasion, which, in that age, was likely to have been brought against them. It seems, indeed, that the Romans did not think the northern parts worth the trouble of conquering. By that fatal neglect, they rendered their conquest insecure; imposed on the country the expense of a numerous military establishment; and lost numbers of their soldiers in defending a precarious frontier.

In that helpless state of dereliction, in which the Britons were left when abandoned by the Romans, they could only rely on their own exertions for their defence, and they soon found themselves totally inadequate to the task. All the warlike inhabitants had been carried out of the country; and the greatest part of those left, consisted of the old and infirm, the luxurious and the profligate. In this deplorable situation, without order or discipline, harrassed by the incessant attacks of the Picts and Caledonians from the north, they were impelled,

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by despair, to have recourse to the worst of all expedients, that of calling in one barbarous nation to protect them against another.

The Britons being left to themselves, although not destitute of courage in the field, were incapable of political union, and the Scots and Picts, taking advantage of the departure of the Roman legions, attacked the frontier; demolished many parts of the great wall; sacked the cities in its vicinity; destroyed the crops on the adjacent grounds; and, by repeated incursions, spread general desolation on the borders. It was in this emergency, that Vortigern, who had been elected king of the Britons, unable to resist his enemies, and mistrustful of his own subjects, called in to his assistance the Saxons, a warlike nation of Germany. They were composed of various tribes, and were equally noted for their ravages by land, and their piracies by sea. Their neglect of agriculture, as well as the other arts of peace, rendered them unable to provide for an increasing population, and impelled them to frequent migrations, which gradually brought them down to the sea coast, and induced them to undertake maritime expeditions. A view of their manners is given by Tacitus, in his description of the German nations, among whom they were included. Their natural characteristics were, the love of freedom and of arms. Their political system was extremely simple; their chiefs or kings had, in time of peace, a very limited authority; but in time of war, they were invested with ample powers. All public affairs were discussed in their general assemblies. Among the Saxons, when a young man had attained to the proper age for military service, he was introduced into the national assembly, where he received his arms, and was admitted a member. As they seldom resided above a year in the same place, the quantity of land to be cultivated; the division of its produce; the expeditions that were to be undertaken; and the direction of the next removal, were all regulated in this great council of the nation. To this they always came armed; for, among them, the name of citizen and soldier were synonimous.

Such are the outlines of the political constitution of the

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Saxons, and the rest of the Germans. To their great national councils may be traced the parliaments, and other essential features of succeeding European systems; some of which are swallowed up in the gulph of despotism; others refined and improved into national liberty; but all of them successively modified, in conformity to the change of circumstances. The religion of the Saxons was a gross system of idolatry. Their princes pretended to be the descendants of their god Wodin, a famous chieftain, deified for his martial exploits. In Germany, as well as in Greece, imaginary gods were made engines of power in the hands of artful men.

The Saxons defeated the Picts and Caledonians; but, observing the weakness and disunion of the Britons, they soon conceived the hope of establishing themselves in a country, which agriculture and civilization had rendered much superior to their own. In this view, they concluded a treaty with the northern invaders, and turned their arms against the Britons. The Saxons being at that time a fierce, cruel, and rapacious people, spread desolation wherever they came; and converted the best cultivated districts into a dreary waste. All the cities and towns from the eastern to the western sea, with all the churches and public edifices, were consumed; and all who made any resistance were indiscriminately put to the sword. The desolation was so general, that the conquerors could not, at last, find provisions for their support.

The Britons having been constrained by necessity to take up arms were often victorious. It is no improbable conjecture, that if they had avoided intestine quarrels, and cordially united in the common cause, they might, eventually, have preserved their country. Experience itself could not teach them this salutary lesson. Whenever they obtained the least respite from foreign aggression, they relapsed into civil wars, which exhausted their strength, and diverted their attention from the means of providing for their future security.

During these times of desolation and distress, some of the Britons retired to Armorica, now Bretagne, a province of France. A large body also took refuge in Cornwall and Devonshire, where they for some time maintained a sort of pre-

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carious independency. But the last refuge of the Britons, and the most conspicuous seat of their independence, was that part of the island now called Wales. In that mountainous region, the relics of the British nation, in a great measure, relapsed into barbarism, and continued for some ages in that state. They were divided into petty principalities, in which their princes had a great, but ill defined power. The estates of the gentry were encumbered with numerous services. The common people were but little regarded, and industry was totally discouraged. The same impolitic conduct, which rendered them incapable of resisting the Saxons, continued when the contest was over. Sometimes their petty principalities were united under one sovereign; sometimes they were not only divided and independent of one another, but very frequently engaged in mutual hostilities. Their intestine quarrels always prevented them from pursuing any common interest; and private resentments domineered over every public consideration. Reiterated scenes of anarchy, and confirmed habits of rapine, rendered them inattentive to the arts of peace. Small villages, composed of mean huts, intermixed with a number of little churches, chapels, monasteries, and hermitages, were scattered over the country; but no new towns were built, and the old ones were suffered to fall into ruins. Predatory war became the great, and almost the only object of their pursuit. Thus, they lived without any respite from war, and without any regular political constitution or legislative system; sometimes conforming to their old customs, and sometimes directed by their clergy. At length Howel the Good, having united the different principalities, and obtained the sovereignty of all Wales, composed a complete code of laws, which were promulgated A. D. 943. The sequel of their history presents little else than a succession of the same scenes of depredation and restless hostility; until Edward I. annexed Wales to the English dominions, and thus effected the civilization of its inhabitants.

We now return to the affairs of the Saxons. The seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy were not established at once, nor in consequence of any preconcerted plan; but at different pe-

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riods, extending from A. D. 457, till A. D. 627, and by the operation of various contingencies. Their names were Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, Northumberland, East Anglia, and Mercia.

One hundred and seventy years elapsed, from the arrival of Hengist, to the complete establishment of the seven kingdoms; a length of time which sufficiently shews how difficult the expulsion of the Britons was found. During these calamitous times, war was the only subject of attention; scenes of desolation were widely spread, and the miseries of the inhabitants darken the pages of the histories of that age. All Europe, during this gloomy period, displayed a similar view: a dismal chasm, unenlightened by the rays of science, every where appears. No traces of literature, nor any marks of civilization appear, until the introduction of Christianity. Before that important event, no arts (except those of absolute necessity) had made any advancement. From this epoch, science and literature began to dawn among the Saxons. The rational and benevolent precepts of the gospel are found, by experience, to be eminently conducive to the improvement and happiness of society.

The different kingdoms which composed the Saxon Heptarchy, were involved in frequent wars; and their public affairs often ill managed. Egbert, king of the West Saxons, observing their debilitated and unsettled state, projected the design of their conquest, or at least of their coalition, under his own paramount government. He ascended the throne of the West Saxon kingdom, A. D. 800, and immediately began to meditate his grand design. His military operations commenced by the reduction of West Wales, which was followed by that of Mercia. The reduction of the kingdom of Northumberland, A. D. 827, ten years after that of Mercia, completed the extinction of the Heptarchy, after it had subsisted about 200 years. In the course of this period 96 kings reigned in England.

The Northumberland and Mercian kingdoms, both remained under the tributary government of their own princes, who reigned as vassals to Egbert. He summoned a general assembly at Winchester, and declared that the kingdom should

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be called England, and the people Englishmen. This assembly is generally supposed to have been convened for the purpose of moulding the whole coalesced kingdom, into one regular political system. But the deliberations were soon interrupted by an unexpected event, which was the commencement of disasters which extended nearly two centuries. The Danes, landing in different parts of the coast, ravaged the country in a deplorable manner. Egbert, assembling his forces, marched against them, and a battle was fought A. D. 833, in which the victory seems to have been doubtful; but the loss on both sides was very considerable. Two years afterwards, he totally defeated the combined forces of the Danes, and the revolted Britons of Cornwall. This victory restored the tranquillity of the kingdom, during the short remainder of the reign of Egbert, who died the year following.

Ethelwolf, his son and successor, was successful in repelling the Danish invasions, and restored the tranquillity of his kingdom. His two younger sons, Ethelbert and Etheldred, successively, ascended the throne. The reigns of these two princes were extremely calamitous; for the Danes ravaged all parts of England for more than thirty years. The ravages of these invaders converted the greatest part of the island into a desert.

England was reduced to the most deplorable condition when Alfred, the youngest son of Ethelwolf, succeeded to its precarious crown. Within less than a year after his accession, he fought nine battles against the Danes, with various success. At last his forces were so much diminished by incessant war, and those of the enemy so increased by successive multitudes of their countrymen from the continent, that he was obliged to dismiss his faithful adherents, and to retire into the fens of Somersetshire, where he took shelter in the isle of Athelney, a place, at that time, almost inaccessible. It was situated at the confluence of the Parret and the Thone, and consisted of only two or three acres of firm ground, in the middle of impassable morasses, formed by the overflowing waters of those rivers. In this sequestered retreat, it is supposed that he formed the plan of his future military operations;

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and of the political and legislative system, which he afterwards established.

Alfred, after remaining some time concealed, finding a favourable opportunity, collected an army, and emerging from his retreat, surprised and defeated the Danes. He then concluded a peace with Cuthrum their chief. His future enterprises were so successful, that having recovered London, and several other places of importance from the Danes, and given to his kingdom a regular form, he enacted in the twenty-second year of his reign A. D. 893, a code of laws, which are as prudently adapted to existing circumstances, as any of the boasted systems of antiquity.

These laws served as the basis of the Saxon, and eventually of the English constitution. Their general outlines shew the excellence of Alfred's government; and, in some measure, develope the state of society in those days. In each county was placed a governor, or lord lieutenant; and the shire reeve, whom we, by contraction, style sheriff, was the acting officer. The king's thanes constituted the next order of nobility; after them, were the under or middle thanes; and the yeomen were the lowest class of freeholders. All these had their respective rights and privileges; and as an encouragement to industry, those who acquired a degree of wealth sufficient for the support of its dignity, might enter into a superior order. Vassals also, and servants, although not freemen, were under the protection of the laws. To understand the Anglo Saxon constitution, it is necessary to be acquainted with the nature of the witena-gemotes, or general assemblies of wisemen, which, with various modifications, had constituted, from time immemorial, the legislative bodies of the Germans, and probably of all the northern nations. After the introduction of Christianity, and the advancement of the Saxons in civilization, the prelates sat in these assemblies, with the earls, thanes, and witts. The members of these convocations had a deliberative voice in the making and repealing of laws, and a judicial voice in regard to civil and criminal causes. To this great national council, the more refined and more perfectly organized senate of Great Britain may be traced; and from the

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same source, the states general and parliaments of France, the cortes of Spain, and various other institutions of a similar nature, undoubtedly originated.

The restoration of religion, which, during the Danish depredations had been almost annihilated, was among the first and principal cares of this judicious prince, who rightly considered it as the basis of all good government. In regard to military affairs he was equally prudent and methodical. He established in every county a regular and well disciplined militia, which was always ready for service. The naval force was also properly regulated and stationed in convenient ports; the towns and fortresses were repaired; and the ravaged and desolate provinces, repeopled and cultivated.

This monarch saw and lamented the low state of learning among his subjects, and adopted every possible measure for its restoration. The universal ignorance which prevailed throughout England, was the necessary consequence of those continued scenes of devastation which had, during so long a period, spread themselves through every part of the country. In those predatory wars, every thing that exhibited any marks of opulence or civilization, was plundered and destroyed. Almost every town in the kingdom was reduced to a heap of ruins. The monasteries, in those days the principal, and almost the only receptacles and seminaries of learning, were all plundered, and most of them destroyed, and the religious every where massacred or expelled. In this deplorable state of things, when every one's attention was solely directed to the single object of self preservation, and continually occupied with projects of resistance or escape, the improvement of the human mind was neglected, and almost every trace of literature, as well as of religion obliterated.

To remedy these inconveniences, and promote the restoration of learning among his subjects, Alfred established seminaries in different places. He is generally regarded as the founder, or at least the restorer of the famous university of Oxford. This monarch invited from all countries the most learned professors. These he encouraged by his liberality, and animated by his example; for although so great a part of

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his life was spent in the bustle of camps, and amidst the tumults of war, he applied himself intensely to study. He was esteemed the best Saxon poet of his time, and was also well skilled in grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, architecture, geometry, and history. He also wrote several works, which were considered as excellent specimens of composition. In his youth, he had passed a whole year at Rome. He had received from nature an extensive capacity. This he improved by the best education, which that age could afford, and spared no pains to cultivate his mental powers. Indeed, no person in any situation, public or private, ever portioned out his time with more exact regularity. Of the twenty-four hours in the day, he always devoted eight to the duties of religion; eight to the administration of public affairs; and the remaining eight, were allotted to the different purposes of study, refreshment, &c. It would far exceed our limits, to enter into a particular detail of the actions of this prince; but abundance of collateral evidence demonstrates him to have been one of the greatest princes of all those, whose names are recorded in the annals of royalty.

His regulation of the police, not only shews the sagacity of the legislator, but also developes the social circumstances of those calamitous times. The multipled scenes of violence and depredation, which had extended to every corner of the country, had given rise to an unexpected and singular species of disorder. The Saxons were frequently plundered by banditti of their own countrymen, disguised in the habit of Danes; and it was customary among both nations to steal not only cattle, but also men and women, and to sell them to each other. For this reason a law was enacted, which prohibited the sale of cattle or slaves without a voucher. But for the prevention of those, and many other disorders of a similar nature, nothing could be better calculated than the system of general responsibility, which Alfred established. Every householder was answerable, not only for his own family, but also for any stranger who lodged more than two nights in his house. The village, or town, was answerable for each householder; the hundred for each town of its district; and the county for each

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hundred which it comprised. By this responsibility of the divisions and subdivisions, numberless evils were repressed; social order was re-established; the trifling inconveniences under which it laid the people, were amply compensated by the public tranquillity and private security which it produced. The regulations of Alfred were productive of national and individual benefits, superior to any which the kingdom had ever before enjoyed. If trial by juries was not first established, it appears to have been first regulated in this reign. This monarch may be regarded as the great legislator of the country, and the father of the Anglo Saxon constitution.

A prince, so attentive to every circumstance of improvement, would not overlook the importance of navigation and commerce; and accordingly, we find that he assiduously employed himself in advancing these great foundations of national greatness. He rendered his fleet so formidable, that he defeated the Danes in several naval engagements. Historians also inform us, that he caused many ships to be constructed for the purpose of being let out to merchants, who, as they relate, traded to India.

We have been somewhat diffuse in our view of the character and conduct of this monarch, the glory of the Anglo Saxon race: for his reign constitutes a remarkable and illustrious epoch in the annals of England. He died A. D. 900, in the fifty-second year of his age, after a reign of thirty years unblemished by any vice or weakness, during which, without ever being elated with success or depressed by misfortune, he proceeded with a steady progress in his glorious career, and established an immortal reputation.

Alfred was succeeded by his son Edward. This prince, who steadily adhered to his father's maxims, supported himself with firmness against all his enemies. He fought many successful battles against the Danes; and in the end, had the good fortune to restore peace to the kingdom. Afterwards he repaired many old, and built some new towns, which he peopled promiscuously with Saxons and Danes, towards whom he acted with strict impartiality. By this conduct, he not only repeopled and improved the country, but conciliated so much

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the affections of the Danes of the East Anglian kingdom, that they voluntarily submitted to his dominion. Although a great part of his time was spent in the field, he assiduously cultivated the arts of peace, and all possible means to civilize his subjects. He promulgated a variety of laws, from the tenor of which it appears, that those who committed offences for which they were unable to pay the penalty, expiated them by the forfeiture of their freedom. This seems to have been one of the principal sources of personal slavery among the Saxons. He reigned twenty-four years with distinguished reputation, and left, by three wives, a numerous posterity.

Athelstan, his eldest son, succeeded him A. D. 925. This prince convened several general assemblies, in which many laws which breathe a true spirit of patriotism, were enacted; but his attention to civil affairs, was soon interrupted by the alarm of war. The Northumbrian Danes had joined their forces with those of the Scots, and made an incursion into the English territories; but their measures were soon broken, by the vigorous and successful efforts of Athelstan. Shortly after, the kingdom was greatly endangered by a general confederacy of the Welch, the Northumbrians, the Scots, the Irish, and Danes, under the command of their king Anlaff. These nations had prepared a formidable naval and military armament in the northern parts of the island, for the purpose of effecting an invasion, at the same time, by land and by sea. But Athelstan anticipated them, by marching with a powerful army; while a competent naval force advanced along the coast. Having brought the confederates to action, he gained, A. D. 938, a decisive victory. After this important event, Athelstan immediately turned his arms against the Cornish Britons, dispossessed them of Exeter; and drove them beyond the river Tamar. He also obliged Ludwald, king of Wales, to pay him a tribute of twenty pounds weight of gold, 300 of silver, 25,000 oxen, and as many hounds and hawks, as he should require. His various and splendid successes, carried his fame into foreign countries. Presents of gems, of horses with superb furniture, and various other articles of splendid ornament, were made to him by foreign potentates.

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This monarch enacted a law, which conferred on every merchant who made three voyages to the Mediterranean the honours and privileges of a gentleman. This circumstance shews how much Athelstan was sensible of the importance of commerce. Having repulsed all his enemies, and considerably aggrandized the power of the Anglo Saxon kingdom, he died unmarried, A. D. 941, in the fourteenth year of a glorious reign.

Edmund, his brother, who succeeded him, had not long enjoyed the regal dignity, before his talents were called into exertion by a revolt of the Danes, which he punished, by dispossessing them of several towns of Mercia which, till then, they had been permitted to hold. He also chastised the Northumbrians, and reduced a great part of their country, together with Cumberland, which was then an independent sovereignty. Edmund bestowed the last on Malcolm, king of Scotland, on condition, that he should defend the northern part of the Anglo Saxon kingdom, against any future attacks of the Danes: thus, by a wise policy, he detached the Scots from their Danish alliance, and interested them in the defence of the country, which had so often been desolated by their ravages. This monarch, after having considerably enlarged his dominions, and increased the prosperity of his subjects, unfortunately fell by assassination.

The two sons of Edmund being yet in their infancy, he was succeeded by Edred his brother, who, during a reign of nine years, maintained the tranquillity of the kingdom with few interruptions.

Edwy, the eldest son of Edmund, succeeded his uncle Edred. He was only fourteen years of age at his ascension, and he seems to have been unfortunate in ascending the throne at a time, when the dissensions which prevailed between the monks and the secular clergy convulsed the state. The king adhered to the latter; and having banished Dunstan, who headed the monks, the disgraced party had so great an influence in the kingdom, as to invest his younger brother, Edgar, with the regal authority over Northumberland and Mercia. Edwy died about two years after this event.

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In consequence of his death, Edgar his brother, at the age of sixteen, became king of all England. He attached himself to the interests of the monks, to whom he owed his first elevation; and in the succeeding part of his reign found them a powerful support. His political conduct was prudent, and his reign pacific and prosperous. He perfectly understood and vigilantly maintained his superiority over the Danish and Welch princes, his neighbours, and tributaries; but made few or no conquests, contenting himself with the voluntary submission that was readily paid to his paramount authority; while he maintained the tranquillity of the kingdom, by keeping constantly in readiness a more formidable naval and military force, than had ever been seen in the reigns of his predecessors.

From the prosperous and peaceable state of the kingdom, during the reign of this prince, it is easy to conceive, that commerce flourished more than in any other period of the Anglo Saxon monarchy. His shining qualities were intermixed with some considerable vices. The luxury of his court was excessive. He was too lavish of his favours, especially to the monks, and his attachment to their party was one of the distinguishing characteristics of his reign. He built or repaired upwards of forty religious houses, in different parts of the kingdom. He also recalled Dunstan from exile, and successively promoted him to the bishopricks of Worcester and London, and afterwards to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. This celebrated monk was his principal favourite and counsellor. This monarch being very young at his accession, his judicious conduct must have been the effect of wise counsel, which no man was better qualified to give than Dunstan, who possessed extraordinary abilities, and to the advantages of an excellent education, added an uncommon skill in managing the minds of the people. The attachment of this king to the monks must, in his circumstances, be considered as a mark, both of gratitude and policy; for they were the architects of his fortune; the supporters of his authority; and the trumpeters of his fame. Edgar had the good fortune to terminate in the arms of victory, a reign of glory and peace;

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for the Welch having made some incursions on the frontiers, he entered Glamorganshire with an army; and having triumphed over his enemies, and plundered their country, he was touched with compassion on seeing the misery of the people, and caused the greatest part of the booty to be restored; thereby acquiring a glory more solid and permanent, than victory and conquest can bestow. On his return from this expedition he died, after a short illness, in the thirty-third year of his age, universally lamented by his subjects.

Edward his eldest son was, by the authority and influence of Dunstan, then archbishop of Canterbury, advanced to the throne; although Elfrida, his step-mother, ineffectually endeavoured to place it on her own son, yet an infant. The young king being only fourteen years of age at his ascension, and placed under the tuition of Dunstan, behaved with such prudence, as afforded to his subjects the most flattering hopes. But before he had enjoyed the regal dignity four years, he was treacherously murdered by the command of his step-mother.

The reign of Ethelred II. his brother and successor, was calamitous, although at the time of his accession the kingdom was in a peaceable and prosperous state. Tranquillity had produced riches and luxury. We cannot peruse the history of those times, without observing an almost universal corruption of morals. The dissentions, which, during the space of thirty years, had prevailed in the church, involving no doctrinal dispute, but exhibiting merely a contest between the monks and the secular clergy for temporal emoluments, were peculiarly calculated to weaken the influence of religion on the minds of the people. Saints, indeed, were multiplied, but without contributing much to the conversion of sinners; while the contest between the two great bodies of the clergy for wealth and pre-eminence, by degrading the sanctity of religion, tended to introduce moral profligacy. In this reign, the monks, who from the time of Edgar's accession had been all powerful, lost their superiority; and Dunstan, their great supporter, fell into disgrace. On him, indeed, the strength of their party seems to have principally depended. He was certainly a consummate statesman. The prosperity of the nation,

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whilst his influence preponderated, contrasted with the calamities which followed his disgrace, affords the strongest presumption in favour of his political talents. During the space of near sixty years, the foreign Danes seemed to have almost forgotten England; and those of that nation who were settled there, considered it as their native country. In the reign of Ethelred, they began to renew their invasions from the continent. The tributary Danish princes in the island, seizing so favourable an opportunity, of freeing themselves from the dominion of the English, formed, with their countrymen, a potent confederacy; which, after deluging the country with blood, and rendering it an extensive scene of desolation, at last effected the subversion of the Anglo Saxon government; and brought the whole kingdom under subjection to Denmark.

The particulars of these Danish wars, of which, in these early ages, England was the ensanguined theatre, are at this day, for the most part uninteresting. The general results are alone worthy the attention of modern readers.

Ethelred was almost constantly betrayed by his favourites and confidents; and his fleets and armies were generally defeated. The whole kingdom exhibited a scene of calamity and devastation. The Danes, with the most savage barbarity, took and destroyed almost all the cities and towns, except London; plundered the villages; and massacred multitudes of the people, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. Ethelred, by the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the nobility, at last purchased their retreat with a large sum of money, which would been better bestowed, in fortifying the kingdom against their attacks; for the present made to this band served only to allure others, who followed in rapid succession. Swein, king of Denmark, and Olaus, king of Norway, encouraged by the success of their subjects, equipped a numerous fleet; sailed up the Thames, and made several attempts upon London; but not being able to take the city, they retired, and compensated their disappointment by ravaging Kent, Hampshire, and Sussex; threatening at the same time, to desolate the whole kingdom. Ethelred, in this extremity, had recourse

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to his former expedient of purchasing peace with money. The two kings then retired to Southampton; and Olaus embracing Christianity, returned to Norway; and never more disturbed England. The payment of the money stipulated to pay the king of Denmark being delayed, that prince renewed the war; sailed up the Severn; and committed the most horrible ravages. The Danes were every where victorious; and the forces of the English were no sooner levied, than defeated. Ethelred seeing no other means of preservation than the payment of money, at last signed a treaty with the king of Denmark, by which he consented to give him 30,000l. This sum, which, in those days was very considerable, was levied by a tax upon land, called Danegelt, from which both the monks and the secular clergy found means to be exempted. In consequence of this agreement, part of the Danes returned home; but great numbers remained behind, and lived intermixed with the English.

This is the period on which historians fix for the relation of a general massacre of the Danes by Ethelred's orders, privately despatched to every part of the kingdom; a circumstance which has given rise to many disputes, and to a variety of incredible stories. It is, however, extremely probable, that a partial massacre was effected. Historians say, that Gunilda, sister of the king of Denmark, a lady of great virtue, who had embraced the Christian religion, and was married to a Danish nobleman domiciliated in England, was one of the victims of this sanguinary policy. It is said that she had at first been spared, and that, by Ethelred's special command, she and her children were massacred with the most horrible circumstances of cruelty.

This bloody tragedy, which was acted on the 13th of November, A. D. 1002, completed the guilt and the misfortunes of Ethelred. Swein, king of Denmark, on receiving intelligence of this horrid transaction, vowed that he would never rest till he had desolated England by fire and sword; and he made no delay in carrying his threats into execution. Having equipped a powerful fleet, he made his first landing in Cornwall, and proceeding to Exeter, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and reduced the town to ashes. The war was now

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carried forward with the most implacable animosity; not for the sake of plunder, as formerly, but on a principle of extermination. All the kingdom, except London, was subdued. It would be both tedious and shocking to relate the horrible destruction of York, Lincoln, Oxford, Cambridge, Canterbury, Thetford, and in fine, of all the principal towns, with the inhuman butchery of their inhabitants. London, the only remaining possession of Ethelred, was several times attempted by the Danes, but they were always repulsed. This metropolis of England, being at that time surrounded with strong walls, both towards the land and the river, was, on all sides, completely fortified against the armies and fleets of the enemy. Ethelred, however, after having long remained shut up in his capital, apprehending that his subjects would at last deliver him up to the king of Denmark, withdrew privately from the city, with his family, and retired into Normandy. The Londoners, not thinking it prudent any longer to support the cause of a prince by whom they were abandoned, surrendered the city to Swein, and acknowledged him sole king of England. This monarch surviving his conquest but one year, Canute his son was proclaimed king by the Danes; but the English recalled Ethelred, and promised him their support. Canute, however, although at the head of that army which had already conquered England, suddenly evacuated the kingdom and returned to Denmark. The cause of this precipitate retreat was the revolt of his younger brother, who had been left regent of Denmark, during the absence of his father Swein; and on receiving intelligence of his death, had assumed the regal authority. Canute judged it imprudent to neglect his patrimonial inheritance for a country newly subdued, and every where ripe for defection. But after having secured the allegiance of his paternal kingdom, he returned the next year to England, and renewed the war. This again exhibited an uninterrupted series of successes on the side of the Danes, and of disasters on that of the English. Ethelred again shut himself up in the capital; while Canute, like his father, subdued city after city, and province after province. But his victories were not stained with the same degree of barbarity;

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and the war was conducted on a principle of conquest, rather than of extermination. During its continuance, Ethelred died, at London, A. D. 1016, in the thirty-seventh year of a most disastrous reign.

In reviewing the misfortunes of this calamitous period, we hear of no other than some feeble and unsuccessful efforts of the English by sea; but, on the contrary, the Danes continually sailed from one part of the coast to another, and at different times ascended the Humber, the Thames, and the Severn, with scarcely any opposition from the English navy. From these circumstances, a judicious inquirer will be strongly inclined to believe, that the English navy was at this period very inconsiderable.

On the death of Ethelred, Edmund his son, surnamed Ironside, was proclaimed king by the English; while the Danes adhered to Canute. This prince regarding London as the grand support of Edmund, and the principal obstacle to his own success, resolved on its reduction; and accordingly made a formidable effort for that purpose; but was repulsed. Considering this capital as the great object of the contest, he resolved, once more, to assault it by land and by water; but the progress of his ships up the Thames being impeded by the bridge, which appears to have been strongly fortified, he was obliged to have recourse to an extraordinary and immensely laborious expedient. This was no less than the cutting of a vast ditch from Rotherhithe, passing in a semicircular direction at a considerable distance from the Thames, and opening into that river opposite to the western extremity of the city. Having drawn his ships through this canal, the blockade of London was completed.* Notwithstanding this stupendous stratagem, the Danish king being constantly repulsed in all his assaults, was a second time compelled to raise the siege.

Edmund was not less remarkable for his activity and courage, than his father had been for his inertness and pusillanimity. He constantly met his enemies in the field, and carried on his military operations with extraordinary vigour. The

* Pennant's London, p. 281.

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events of this war are very confusedly related by historians; but it appears that not fewer than five pitched battles were in one year fought, between the two rival kings, with various success. The two monarchs, at last, having collected their whole force were preparing for an engagement, which would in all probability have decided their fate, and that of the kingdom in one day; but Edmund proposed to the Danish king to trust the decision to a single combat, which Canute declining, a treaty was concluded, by which the kingdom was divided between them, with the reversion of the whole to the survivor. By this partition, all the country south of the Thames, with the city of London, and part of Essex, was assigned to Edmund, and the rest allotted to the share of Canute. Edmund did not long enjoy his peaceable sovereignty, being murdered in about a year, at the instigation of the traitor Edric, duke of Mercia.

Canute, in consequence of Edmund's death, convened an assembly of the nobles, and put in his claim to the government of the united monarchy, and although some did not willingly acknowledge, none durst openly dispute his right. The people had indeed too long, and too severely, smarted under the scourge of a destructive war, to have any great inclination to renew its calamities, for the sake of deciding who should be their master. The children of Edmund were therefore abandoned, and Canute acquired the undivided sovereignty. Thus was the Danish government established in England, and the monarchy of the Anglo Saxons subverted, about one hundred and ninety years after its foundation by Egbert.

Canute was one of the greatest and best monarchs that had ruled over England. One of his grand political objects, was the incorporation of the two nations, which he diligently laboured to accomplish. He sent back a great part of the Danish troops, who were liberally rewarded for their services with English money. Canute, while king of England, made several voyages to his Danish dominions, and took a journey to Rome, where he appeared with great splendour; was received with extraordinary respect; and left many marks of

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his munificence. His name derives as much lustre from his magnanimity and love of justice, as from his political and military talents. One of the first acts of his reign was to condemn to death Edric, duke of Mercia, the assassin of Edmund. To put an end to the existence of a disloyal traitor, whom conscience could not bind, nor favours render faithful, and who converted his wealth and his power to the worst of purposes, was an act both of justice and policy. This monarch seemed intent on effacing from the minds of his subjects, the remembrance of past calamities; and on restoring tranquillity and social order throughout his dominions. He died A. D. 1036, in the twentieth year of his reign.

Harold, from his swiftness in running, surnamed Harefoot, succeeded his father Canute in the throne of England; but made no great figure, either in war or in peace. His short reign of four years affords few materials for history.

Hardicanute, the son of Canute, by Emma of Normandy, relict of Ethelred, next ascended the throne. He was indolent and luxurious; lived unbeloved, and died unlamented, A. D. 1042. With this prince ended the monarchy of the Danes in England, after it had continued about twenty-eight years.

Edward the Confessor, the son of Ethelred and Emma, was at this juncture advanced to the throne of his ancestors, and in him the Saxon line was restored. This prince was placed on the throne by the influence of Earl Godwin, whose interest he secured by engaging to marry his daughter. This nobleman's genius, his great alliances, his high dignities, and important offices, had long rendered him the principal arbiter of public affairs. Having convened an assembly, to which the English alone had been called, he displayed, in an eloquent oration, the calamities which the country had suffered from the Danes. Historians relate, that this oration had such an effect on the minds of the assembly, as to produce a unanimous decree, that no prince of the Danish race should ever ascend the throne of England. It is also said to have been likewise resolved in this council, that the Danes should be expelled from the kingdom, and that this decree was imme-

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diately carried into execution. Edward died A. D. 1066, after a reign of twenty-four years, leaving the succession unsettled.

Harold, the son of earl Godwin, who inherited all the talents and genius of his father, had, during the reign of Edward, acquired a degree of popularity, which at this critical juncture raised him to the vacant throne. The manner in which the succession was determined, is differently related by historians. Some say that he was elected by the witena-gemot, or general assembly of the prelates and nobility; others, that he extorted a nomination from his dying predecessor; while others assert, that he usurped the crown without any formality or troubling himself about the consent of the nation. By whatever means Harold obtained the crown, his political and military talents rendered him worthy of wearing it; but he had no sooner assumed the regal dignity, than he was menaced with an invasion from Normandy. While he was preparing to repel the threatened attack, his brother Tasty, who had been banished in the reign of king Edward, returned with a piratical fleet; and after harrassing the coasts of the island, went to Norway, and prevailed on Hassagar, king of that country, to join him in the invasion of his brother's dominions. Being arrived on the coast of England with a formidable fleet, and numerous army, they entered the Humber, and sailing up the Ouse, landed their forces. The earls of Northumberland and Chester venturing to give them battle, were defeated, and their army almost totally destroyed. The Norwegians besieged York, which shortly after surrendered, and then began their march northward; but Harold, on receiving intelligence of these transactions, marched with a powerful army against the invaders, and attacked them at Stamford bridge, on the east side of which the Norwegians had entrenched themselves. The bravery of one of the Norwegians deserves to be commemorated. This single man defended the bridge with his battle-axe for a considerable time, and killed forty of the English with his own hand; but at last, being himself slain, the passage was forced; and the Norwegians, after an obstinate resistance, totally routed. This is

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supposed to have been the most considerable battle that had hitherto been fought in England; each of the two armies, consisting of not less than sixty thousand men; and as it continued from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon, the carnage was dreadful; Toston and the king of Norway were slain.

But while success thus attended the arms of Harold, he received intelligence of the landing of William, duke of Normandy in Sussex, and immediately marched southward to repel the invasion. Having, by hasty marches, arrived at London, and reinforced his army, he found it greatly diminished, not only by the battle of Stamford bridge, but also by desertion, of which an impolitic act on his part had been the cause. At that place, a vast booty had been found in the Norwegian camp; and it was the custom in those days to divide all the spoils among the officers and soldiers. But Harold had, on this occasion, retained the whole. All the nobility of the kingdom, however, repaired to him at London, and offered him their assistance. Having collected all the forces he could muster, he commenced his march against the duke, who was encamped near Hastings. The conduct of Harold, in hazarding the fate of the kingdom on the event of a battle, was more heroic than prudent; and the loss of his crown and his life, was owing to his precipitancy. The details given by different historians of this celebrated engagement, are often contradictory; but all agree, that the Normans gained a complete and decisive victory, and that the death of Harold, who was shot in the head by an arrow, ultimately decided the event of the day. The piety as well as prudence of the Normans, appears also to have been greater than that of the English; as the night preceding the battle, was by the former, spent in preparations for the contest, and in prayer to the Almighty for success; but by the latter, in feasting and carousing, supposing themselves certain of victory.

Harold was the last of the Saxon kings. Before we proceed, a view of the state of society among the Saxons is proper. The witena gemots, or general assemblies of the northern nations, formed the basis of all those political systems, which

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were established on the ruins of the Roman empire. The fields of Mars, among the Francs, and the cortes of the Spaniards were the same as the witena-gemots of the Germans. To determine who were the persons that composed these assemblies, is a question that has baffled the researches of all historians and political writers. All agree, that the nobility constituted an important branch; as did also the bishops and principal abbots, after the introduction of Christianity; but whether that class of people, now called commons, constituted any part of this great national council, is a problem of difficult solution. But it is evident, that whatever might have originally been the case, the commons were afterwards, in most, or perhaps all the nations of Europe, excluded from these legislative assemblies, until re-admitted by royal authority. The first well authenticated instance of the commons of England sending representatives to the national senate, will be found in the reign of Edward the first; and it was not until the eighth year of Henry the fourth, that the right of electing county members, was extended to all freeholders possessing estates of forty shillings per annum.

Among the Saxons as among all other nations ancient and modern, a numerous class of people existed, who had no possessions. In every country, where liberty reigns, this order of men, how little soever favoured by fortune, enjoy all the rights of humanity, and are, in regard to their persons, the disposal of their time, and the exercise of their talents, equally free with those of the highest rank. Among most of the nations of antiquity, social distinctions were more strongly marked, and the superiority of one class of men over another, more strictly maintained. This lowest order of men among the Saxons were slaves; but of two different descriptions; one, consisting of those who, having no property of any kind, were maintained by their masters, and were slaves in the strict sense of the word. The other, of those who, holding small farms at the will of the great proprietors, performed for them all the laborious works which they required. These, managing the lands of their lords, drew from them some benefits to themselves, and enjoyed certain privileges;

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but were attached to the soil, and with it were transferable. This system universally prevailed throughout Europe, until it was banished by the increase of commerce, and the consequent influx of wealth; which gradually promoted civilization, and eventually produced freedom. In some countries of the continent it still exists; although its rigour be daily abated, and its extent contracted.

The origin of all those distinctions which have ever been in civil society, lies beyond the reach of historical record. This general principal alone is evident, that they are the result of the various success of individuals in that universal scramble for power and property, in which mankind has ever been engaged. The particular incidents which have contributed to introduce this unequal distribution of the gifts of fortune, are numerous beyond all calculation, and various beyond all description; but the frequent wars, conquests, and revolutions which have agitated the world, appear to have been the principal causes of those marked distinctions of different classes of men. Among all ancient nations, the events of war, and the punishment of crimes were the two great sources of slavery, which was every where distinguished by the two different conditions already mentioned. Those who were absolute slaves, were chiefly prisoners of war, or their posterity; and the villains, or inferior peasantry, consisted of the bulk of the people; who had submitted to conquerors. The introduction of the feudal system into England, is commonly ascribed to the Normans; but its existence, in a certain degree, among the Anglo Saxons, appears clearly distinguishable. After the conquest it was certainly new modelled, and more completely, as well as more rigorously organized. The establishment of a numerous and permanent military force, and the depression of the great mass of the English people, were two of the principal objects of the conqueror's policy.

Great encomiums have been bestowed on the laws of the Saxons; and when compared with those of the Normans, they were lenient; although, in many respects, extremely absurd. Trials by jury seem to have been, from time immemorial, established among them; but when the evidence produced was

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deemed insufficient to warrant the condemnation or acquittal of the accused, they had various, but ridiculous methods by which they supposed, that the truth might be discovered. The first was, by the oath of the person accused, and of a certain number of compurgators, who attested his innocence; the second, by the ordeal trial which was two fold, viz. by fire or by water. The fiery ordeal consisted in the accused person walking bare foot and blind folded over nine red hot ploughshares, placed at stated distances; which if he had the good fortune to perform, unhurt, he was declared innocent. That by water, was managed by tying together the hands and the feet of the criminal, and throwing him into a pond or a river; if he floated, it was considered as a proof of his guilt; but if he sunk he was declared innocent. These trials were conducted with great solemnity, and always managed by the clergy. The person accused was, in the first place, obliged to swear to his innocence, and sometimes to receive the sacrament. After the accusation was legally brought forward, the person impeached was to spend three days in fasting and prayer. On the day of trial, which, if by fire ordeal, was made in the church, the priest, in his sacerdotal habit, took up the iron which was placed before the altar, and put it into the fire, then pronouncing a form of benediction over the fire and iron, he sprinkled the latter with holy water, making over it the sign of the cross in the name of the Trinity; this being done, the party accused passed through the test. When the trial was by water, the three days fast and other ceremonies being performed, the person accused or suspected, took a draught of holy water, to which was added by the priest, an imprecation, in case he was guilty, and a certain form of prayer was said over the water, into which he was to be thrown.* The trial by single combat was used when the

* It is probable that these ordeals took their rise from the Jewish bitter-waters of jealousy mentioned in Numbers, Chapter 5: If we suppose that few or none escaped conviction, we shall be very much mistaken. For the histories of those times contain innumerable examples of persons plunging their naked arms into boiling water, handling red hot balls of iron, and walking upon burning ploughshares, without receiving the least injury.

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evidence against the accused did not appear very strong; in which case he was allowed to vindicate his innocence by challenging his accuser; and if a woman was impeached, she had the liberty of procuring a champion. This mode of trial was conducted with the greatest possible degree of religious solemnity; and as the parties were often of a distinguished rank, all the magnificence of a semibarbarous age was generally displayed on the occasion. Another mode of trial used by the Saxons, consisted in giving to the party accused a bit of bread and cheese, consecrated with abundance of ceremonies, and administered with solemn and dreadful imprecations. If he was guilty, it was believed that the aliments would stick in his throat, and choak him; but be easily swallowed if he were innocent. Some other methods, as those by scalding water,

Many learned men have been much puzzled to account for this extraordinary issue, and disposed to think that Providence graciously interposed in a miraculous manner for the preservation of injured innocence.

But if we examine every circumstance of these fiery ordeals, we shall see sufficient reason to suspect, that the whole was a gross imposition on the credulity of mankind. The accused person was committed wholly to the priest, who was to perform the ceremony three days before the trial, in which he had time enough to bargain with him for his deliverance, and give him instructions how to act his part. On the day of trial, no person was permitted to enter the church, but the priest and the accused, till after the iron was heated, when twelve friends of the accuser, and twelve of the accused, and no more, were admitted, and ranged along the wall on each side of the church, at a respectful distance. After the iron was taken out of the fire, several prayers were said; the accused drank a cup of holy water, and sprinkled his hand with it, which might take a considerable time if the priest were indulgent. The space of nine feet was measured by the accused himself, with his own feet, and he would probably give but scanty measure. He was obliged only to touch one of the marks with the toe of his right foot, and allowed to stretch the other foot as far towards the other mark as he could, so that the conveyance was almost instantaneous. His hand was not immediately examined, but wrapped three days in a cloth prepared for that purpose. May we not then, from all these precautions suspect, that these priests were in possession of some secret that secured the hand from the impression of such a momentary touch of hot iron, or removed all appearances of these impressions in three days, and that they made use of this secret when they thought proper.—*Dr. Henry, as quoted by Adam Clarke, L. L. D. in his commentary on Numbers, chapter 5th.*

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and by holding a piece of hot iron in the hand, all founded on the same principles, were in use.

These various modes of investigating the truth in criminal cases, inclusive of that of single combat, which characterise the genius of the gothic ages, were founded upon an erroneous notion of the œconomy of Divine Providence in the superintendance of human affairs. They believed that the Supreme Judge, when solemnly invoked, would always make known his decision between innocence and guilt; and not suffer, even in this world, the former to be oppressed, or the latter to escape without detection and punishment. These modes of trial, therefore, whether by ordeal or by single combat, were all grounded on the same principle, and supposed a miraculous interposition of the divine agency; and the solemnities of religion gave them a striking and awful appearance, calculated to make a deep impression on the minds of men. These imaginary methods of discriminating between innocence and guilt, do not exhibit a flattering picture of the understanding of the Saxons. They were not, however, peculiar to them, but were, with various modifications, practised throughout Europe, and are proofs of the ignorance and superstition of those times. They have all long since vanished, in consequence of the growing light of more modern times, with the exception of single combat, which still retains some votaries in the 19th century.

In the progressive advancement of science, literature, and commerce, the Saxons were behind several nations on the continent. Alfred had contributed more than any of their other princes, to the civilization of his subjects, and had introduced several arts, formerly little known. Many boroughs were established, which, for the encouragement of trade, had the privilege of being governed by their own magistrates; and formed those societies called corporations. London had, during the whole reign of the Anglo Saxons, been considerable for its commerce; and if we consider the resistance which it made against the repeated attacks of the Danes under Swein, and his son Canute, it must, even in those days, have been a place of considerable strength and population; but like all the

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other cities of Europe (except Rome, Constantinople, and some others of Italy and Greece) the streets were not paved and the houses were almost universally built of wood. In one particular of architectural knowledge, the Saxons excelled the ancient Egyptians, as they understood the construction of an arch; and we find no reason to suppose that in their civil polity, they were inferior to those celebrated masters of ancient knowledge. If nations and ages so distant, could be brought together in a comparative view, notwithstanding what has been said of the barbarism of the Britons and Saxons, the former appear, in the time of Julius Cæsar, to have equalled in civilization the Greeks at the siege of Troy; and the latter, at the time of the Norman invasion, to have been nothing inferior to the Babylonians and Jews at the æra of the captivity, or to the Romans at the commencement of the Punic wars. One vice, however, which is a common characteristic of all barbarians, was very prevalent among them, this was an insatiable desire of revenge. As they prided themselves on their martial valour, every one was apprehensive of being branded with cowardice, if he made the first advances towards reconciliation. This consideration caused quarrels to be perpetuated from father to son, which seldom terminated but with the extinction of one of the families. These practices are the same which regulate the conduct of the American Indians at this day. They are striking features of barbarism, although such as are not peculiar to the Anglo Saxons; but common to all the nations of Europe, in those called the Gothic and the middle ages. The barbarous custom of selling their children, which long continued, was one of the most disgusting traits of the Saxon character.

The times and the transactions which have passed in review before us, require to be brought forward to distinct inspection. It is in those times, and among the consequences of those events, that we must trace the origin of the English nation, as well as of the English constitution. The subsequent part of the history of England has been more critically examined, and more amply related, and it will therefore be unnecessary, in this concise sketch, to enter into a circumstantial

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detail of the intrigues of courts, the dissentions of nobles, and the operations of armies; all that we propose is to mark the progress of national improvement, the state of society, and the consequences of those transactions and events, which have extended their influence to modern times.

The fall of Harold, the last Anglo Saxon king, involved the extinction of that monarchy, which, by his death, was transferred to the Normans. We shall not here undertake to examine the claims of the Duke of Normandy to the English crown. These have been amply discussed, and are uninteresting to the citizens of the United States. We shall only observe, that soon after the battle of Hastings, London submitted to the conqueror, and the example of the capital was followed by the whole kingdom. It may, at first view, seem astonishing that the fate of a great nation should have been decided by a single battle, and a country so subdued, the conquest of which employed, during the space of almost two centuries, the arms of the Saxons, and afterwards of the Danes; but a little consideration will enable us to account for this apparently singular circumstance. The Saxons and the Danes made war on the principle of plunder and extermination, and imposed on the inhabitants the necessity of taking up arms in defence of their lives and property. The Duke of Normandy came to assert his claim to a contested crown, and professed to make war against the sovereign, and not against the people, whom he promised to govern with equity. The English had lost their king, and Edgar Atheling, the son of Edmund Ironside, was too young and inexperienced to protect them against a formidable invader, at the head of a numerous, well disciplined, and victorious army. But above all it is to be considered, that in those days the church was all powerful, and William, who had the reputation of a religious person, was supported by the papal authority. It is, therefore, no wonder, that in such an age, and in such circumstances, the prelates who were then assembled at London, expecting more benefit from seconding, than from opposing his views, should readily accede to his claim, and dispose the nobility and the citizens in his favour; and it is as little sur-

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prising, that the example of the clergy and the metropolis, should determine the conduct of the rest of the kingdom. By this concurrence of favourable circumstances, William ascended a throne which might, otherwise, have cost many years or even ages of contest. This revolution is, by some writers, supposed to have contributed to the future greatness of England, by multiplying and extending its connections with the continent; but it may, with much greater certainty, be asserted, that its consequences were baneful both to England and France. The former, by its connection with the continental dominions of its Norman kings, who had always an interest distinct from that of the nation, was involved in almost perpetual wars, which exhausted its wealth and population; and the latter, experienced the bad effects of so great an accession of strength to a powerful vassal, who, by this sudden aggrandisement, became a formidable rival.

The jealousy which William entertained of the Saxons, increased his attachment to his Norman subjects, and he thought that he could not, too liberally, reward both them and the other continental adventurers to whose valour he owed his crown, and on whose support its preservation depended. For these he provided, by dispossessing the English, who had taken up arms against him, of their estates, which he granted to his followers, to be held by feudal tenures, according to the Norman custom. All these estates were held by the feudal tenure of Normandy, which consisted in doing homage at the entrance, paying reliefs on succession, and being bound to military service. They were also subject to escuage, aids, and various other burdens. The crown had the wardship of minors, and when the fief descended to a female, the disposal of her in marriage was one of the royal prerogatives. To complete his plan, he filled the episcopal sees with foreigners, whenever they became vacant; and as his severities excited various revolts, these occasioned fresh forfeitures. So invariable was the tenor of his conduct in this respect, that before the end of his reign, there was scarcely in the whole kingdom any Englishman, who was either earl, baron, or bishop, or trusted with any office of dignity or power. By this system

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of policy, in a short time, all the spiritual and temporal proprietors of lands, throughout the whole realm, consisted of persons interested in his support.

These severities were not exercised, nor these partialities indulged, without numerous and formidable revolts on the side of the English, which were punished with extreme rigour. A number of malecontents retired to Ely, which at that time was surrounded by impassable morasses, and were not reduced till after a long blockade. Some of these were punished by death, others had their hands cut off, and many perished in prisons. The Northumbrians also made several vigorous attempts to shake off the Norman yoke. Edgar Atheling procured them the assistance of the Scots, and a Danish fleet entered the Humber with a considerable army, to support the revolt. The king having at length concluded a treaty with the Danes, reduced the malcontents; and judging it necessary to employ the most violent means to prevent those repeated insurrections, he devastated the whole country, between the Humber and the Tyne; drove away all the cattle; burned all instruments of husbandry, and so completely desolated that region, that according to some historians, it lay for the space of nine years without culture; and from York to Durham not a house was left standing.

Those punishments were extremely severe; but William received great and frequent provocations. That the English were in a great measure blameable, is evident from the number of Normans who were daily found murdered in the fields and the woods, without any discovery of the perpetrators of those crimes. In the commencement of his reign, William treated the English with great lenity, and it was not until they began to exasperate him by incessant revolts, that he changed his measures, and proceeded to the extremity of rigour. The partiality of this monarch to the Normans is, by historians, assigned as the principal cause of the disaffection of the English to his government; but it must be remembered that the fidelity of those foreigners could alone support him on the throne, which their valour had enabled him to ascend. William had a conquering as well as a conquered nation to govern;

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and the situation in which he stood, rendered resolute and decisive measures absolutely necessary. A revolution of such magnitude and importance is seldom effected without giving rise to great disorders. To the natural consequences of so great an event, rather than to the cruelty of his disposition, the severities of his reign ought, perhaps, to be chiefly ascribed. The introduction of the sanguinary laws relating to forests, cannot admit of any excuse; for the whole system of foresting was unnecessary, and even impolitic; as it was oppressive to all, and calculated rather to excite, than to prevent revolt; and his desolation of so large a tract of country, comprising many villages and churches, in order to make the new forest in Hampshire, will never be remembered to his honour.

In proportion to his growing conviction of the disaffection of the English, William increased his captious severities. He seems to have concluded, that nothing but the iron hand of a conqueror could retain them in subjection; and he treated them, in every respect, as a conquered people. He introduced the Norman laws, which were extremely severe, punishing almost every offence with the loss of life or limbs, besides confiscation of property. He introduced the language as well as the laws of the Normans, and provided that no other should be used in the courts of judicature, or taught in the schools. The sword, the land, and the law, were transferred, exclusively, into the hands of the conquerors; and nothing but submission and labour left to the conquered. To prevent the meeting of nocturnal assemblies in cities and towns, he obliged all fires to be extinguished throughout the kingdom on the ringing of the curfew, or couvre feu bell, at eight o'clock in the evening; a measure of policy equally singular and oppressive. The celebrated Doomsday book, in which not only the lands, but also the cattle, which every man possessed, were registered, was composed about the twentieth year of his reign.

On this change of the national system, which the Norman conquest introduced, great numbers of Englishmen, unwilling to take a share in its consequences, or to incur the evils of unsuccessful revolt, resolved to try their fortune in foreign coun-

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tries. Many of these retired into the frontier provinces of Scotland, situated between the Frith of Edinburgh and the Tweed. Mr. Gibbon informs us, that a considerable number of Englishmen went at this time to Constantinople, and were entertained as body guards to the Greek emperors.

William the Conqueror nominated his eldest son Robert successor to the dukedom of Normandy, and William, his second son, to the crown of England, and expired at a village near Rouen, A. D. 1087, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of fifty-two years over Normandy, and twenty-one over England. His political and military talents were great; his genius acute and penetrating; his conduct resolute and decisive. His religion consisted in superstition, rather than devotion; in a strict adherence to the exterior form and doctrinal articles of the church, rather than to its moral precepts. His desire of accumulating wealth had no bounds, and his revenues amounted to not less than 400,000*l.* a sum which, on the most moderate computation, was equal to $20,000,000.

William II. surnamed Rufus, succeeded to the crown, in consequence of his father's nomination. With the assistance of friends, he obtained possession of his father's treasures, which were immense, and was crowned without opposition. In the commencement of his reign a conspiracy was formed against him, which threatened to shake the foundation of his throne. His uncle Odo, bishop of Bayeux, had formed a confederacy with many of the Norman lords, to place the crown on the head of Robert, duke of Normandy, the king's elder brother, and had raised considerable forces for that purpose, but the rebellion was soon suppressed. The king, in the next place, made an attempt to dispossess his brother of his dukedom, but this enterprise also failed. Several other wars, especially with Scotland and France, intervened, which were of little importance. This monarch terminated a tyrannical reign, of twelve years, by a tragical death; being accidentally slain by Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, who shooting at a stag, pierced the king to the heart with an arrow. This catastrophe happening in the New Forest, which his father had

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made by the destruction of villages and places of devotion, was, in that age of miracles, considered as a judicial dispensation of Providence. His character and conduct are represented by the ecclesiastical writers in the blackest colours, as he was certainly no friend to the clergy. From the concurrent testimony of historians it appears, that his reign was more tyrannical than that of his father: and that both the clergy and laity were oppressed by his rapacity. Equally avaricious and profuse, he used every means for the acquisition of wealth, and squandered it by every mode of dissipation.

Henry the first, youngest son of the Conqueror, was, on the decease of his brother, advanced to the throne by an irregular kind of election. This prince, considering the questionable nature of his title to the crown, and apprehending the claims of Duke Robert, his eldest brother, who was then on his return from Palestine, found it necessary to conciliate the minds of his subjects. Robert being returned from the crusade, made an effort to wrest from him the sceptre, but failed in this attempt. At last a reconciliation between them was effected by treaty. Robert, who had before mortgaged the duchy of Normandy to his brother, to defray the expenses of the crusade, now managed his affairs so badly, that the Norman lords applied to the king of England for relief. This was a welcome request to Henry, who levied a powerful army, and passed over to the continent; where, after various occurrences, the battle of Tenchebray decided the contest between the two brothers, and again united Normandy with England. Henry died at Rome, A. D. 1135. He was a prince of great courage and prudence, but his character was tinctured with avarice. His harsh treatment of Robert, duke of Normandy, his brother, whom he kept prisoner in Cardiff castle, for the space of twenty-six years, is an act of severity altogether inexcusable. He was an excellent scholar, and had a palace near Oxford, to which he used to retire for the sake of enjoying the conversation of the learned. His reign is also memorable for the revival of learning in the university of Cambridge, from whence it had been banished by the ravages of

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the Danes. Under this monarch England began, in some degree, to retrieve her misfortunes.

Stephen, earl of Boulogne, the nephew of Henry, stepped into the succession; although that monarch imagined that he had taken infallible measures for securing it to his daughter Maud or Matilda. This event involved the kingdom in a civil war, which continued during almost the whole space of his reign. It would require a large volume to enter into a detail of those commotions, which, during the calamitous period of thirteen years, rendered England a scene of carnage and desolation. Sieges and battles, intrigues and cabals, treachery and violence, the violation of oaths, and the tergiversation of bishops and barons, constitute the history of this anarchical reign. Stephen had been elected by the prelates and the nobility, in direct violation of their oaths to Matilda. These personages imagining that their services could never be too highly compensated, thought themselves authorized to make continual demands, and to receive no denial. Every one thought himself entitled to the same honours, the same offices, the same favour, and the same distinctions, of which the attainment involved a moral impossibility. On the failure of their extravagant expectations, they began to forsake the prince whom they had idolized, and invited Matilda to come and assert her claims to the throne. In this memorable and destructive contest, Stephen, after performing prodigies of valour, was taken prisoner at Lincoln, and ignominiously loaded with irons. Matilda herself had also several narrow and almost miraculous escapes; in one of which, having crossed the Thames in a boat, this daughter of a king and wife of an emperor travelled six miles on foot, in a violent storm of snow. While this disastrous contest lasted, the whole kingdom was divided. Every county, city, prelate, and baron, as each was influenced by passion, or directed by interest, declared for Stephen or Matilda. The lords who were nearest in neighbourhood or consanguinity, devastated each other's estates; burning the houses, and pillaging the vassals, so that every province became a theatre of desolation and anarchy. The barons every where acting as sovereigns, as-

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sumed all the powers of royalty. They coined money, built castles, made war against their sovereigns, and against one another; and not only armed numbers of their own vassals and dependants, but, after the example of the king and empress, kept in pay large bodies of foreign mercenaries. Above a thousand fortified castles, in different parts of the country, served as the retreats of rebellion, the receptacles of plunder, the theatres of debauchery, and of every kind of criminal excess. The foreign soldiers, of whom the king's army entirely consisted, committed the most dreadful ravages; for as he was not able to pay them, he was under the necessity of permitting them to plunder the people. The prelates and barons had acted in the same manner. All the men in arms, who were very numerous throughout the kingdom, were reduced to a state more easy to imagine than to describe. The husbandmen, to escape those lawless violences, were obliged to abandon their habitation, and to construct their huts in the church yards, which, happily for their personal security, the religious notions of that age taught men to consider as sacred. These were, consequently, the only places that were not exposed to military depredation. While the miserable inhabitants here found an asylum, the lands lay uncultivated, and all the evils of famine were added to the horrors of war.* This disastrous contest was at last terminated by a treaty between Stephen and young Henry, son of the empress Matilda; by which it was agreed, that the former should reign during his life, and recognise the latter as his successor. The king dying A. D. 1154, within a year after the conclusion of this agreement, Henry succeeded, without opposition, to a crown which had been so long and so violently contested.

Henry II. ascended the throne greatly to the satisfaction of the English, who viewed with pleasure the accession of a prince descended by the female line from the race of their ancient kings. Among the first acts of his reign, was the demolition or seizure of the castles, which were fortified by the barons, in the preceding reign, and which still served as holds

* Lyttleton's Hist. Henry II. vol. 1.

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for robbers, and other disturbers of the public tranquillity. Another measure, equally beneficial to the kingdom, was sending away the foreign troops, which Stephen had introduced and maintained. These mercenaries were a mixed collection of military adventurers from various parts of Europe, who, professing themselves independent of every prince and government, served, indifferently, any who would employ them, on such terms as they approved. William d'Ypres, their general, immediately withdrew, when he found that Henry treated him coolly, and wished his departure.

The occurrences of this prince's reign are too numerous, and too diversified to be given in detail, and are excellently related by lord Littleton, in his history. We shall therefore only observe, that his wars with France, the rebellion of his sons, and his famous contest with Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, which ended with the catastrophe of that ambitious prelate, furnished him with employment, during the greatest part of the time that he swayed the sceptre. But the conquest of Ireland, which was effected with very little loss or expense, was of greater and more lasting importance than all those commotions which disturbed his government, without being productive of any great national benefits, or any remarkable consequences. His reduction of the baronial powers, and his prudent administration of the internal affairs of the kingdom, are far more interesting to posterity, than the personal contentions of the princes, the prelates, and nobles, who lived six hundred years before the present generation was called into existence.

The mode of levying armies was, in that age, very different from what it is at present. The feudal system of the Normans, of which the distribution of lands into military tenures was the most prominent feature, furnished at all times an army of 60,000 men, supported without any expense to the crown, and liable to be mustered at the first summons. But this great military force was often not less formidable to the king than to the enemies of the state, and its operations were sometimes, as ruinous to the people, as a foreign invasion. Henry, who ever kept in view his favourite object, the diminution of

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the exorbitant power of the great barons, introduced the commutation of personal service for a pecuniary equivalent, in favour of those who held by military tenure, and found it inconvenient to be called out to war. The amount of the money raised by this method, fluctuated according to circumstances; but it generally produced a considerable sum, which might be employed to hire mercenaries, who were more serviceable as they were more obedient to the sovereign, and could be kept longer on foot, than an army raised on the principles of the feudal system.

In examining the general state of society in England in the times which we are now considering, a strange constrast of wealth and poverty, of magnificence and misery, presents itself. All the opulence of the country was lodged in a few hands, and all the luxuries and conveniencies of life were restricted to a small number of bishops, abbots, and barons; while the mass of the people was in a state of servitude and indigence. In those ages, when the distinctions of rank were so strongly marked, every method was taken, by the more favoured classes, to command the respect of the people, to impress on their minds a notion of the pre-eminence of the great, and a sense of their own inferiority. Littleton observes, that in the reign of Henry II. all the gentry of England were as magnificent in their dress as their fortunes would bear; but their houses were far from corresponding with the splendour of their apparel; and, except the churches, the great monasteries, and the palaces of the nobility, the buildings, throughout all the northern and western parts of Europe, were inexpressibly mean. In London, and its suburbs, the houses of the citizens were of wood, and covered with thatch, with lattice, or paper windows. The art of making glass had long before been discovered; but the use of it for windows was not generally introduced into London till A. D. 1180, before which time glass windows were seldom seen in private houses; They were first used in Italy, afterwards in France, and from thence were introduced into England. It does not appear that the streets of any of the great cities of Europe, except Rome, Constantinople, and probably some of the other principal

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cities of Italy, and the eastern empire, were paved, earlier than this period. About this time, surnames first began to be in general use among the people of England, although they were common among the nobility, before that period. It is supposed, that the Normans introduced them at the conquest.

Richard I. surnamed Cœur de Lion, succeeded his father, and was crowned at London with great solemnity. The ceremony of his coronation was, however, disturbed by the massacre of some Jews, who, being actuated by curiosity, and striving with too great eagerness to enter the church, gave occasion to the populace to fall on them, and kill several before their fury could be restrained. This flagrant act of barbarity was not suffered to pass unpunished; a strict inquiry was made after the ringleaders, whose death justly expiated their offence. The prejudice against the Jews was at this time so strong and general, that the example made of these offenders, did not deter others from imitating their conduct; for the next year the same tragedy was acted at Norwich, Stamford, Lincoln, and Lynn. In all those places, a furious and bigotted populace rose upon the Jews, and massacred them in a barbarous manner; but their greatest fury was exerted against them at York: five hundred of that unfortunate race, besides women and children, having retired into the castle of that city for safety, were attacked there by the rabble. They offered a large sum of money to be permitted to retire; but the populace refusing to give them quarter, they had recourse to the desperate expedient of destroying themselves, in order to avoid falling into the hands of their merciless persecutors.

The religious frenzy, which in this and the succeeding ages, excited the princes of Christendom to lavish the blood and the treasure of their subjects, in attempts to wrest Palestine out of the hands of infidels, was perfectly suited to the genius of Richard, whose predominant passion was the love of military distinction. His expedition to the Holy Land, in conjunction with Philip Augustus, king of France, was one of the most glorious, but the most prejudicial to the nation, of all the foreign wars, in which it had ever been engaged, since

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the Norman conquest had implicated English politics with those of the continent. An immense sum was requisite for his equipment; and every expedient was used in order to procure the necessary supply: the late king had left in his treasury, the sum of a hundred thousand marks, and Richard levied, at least, as much more; this he accomplished by the sale of the crown lands, as well as of offices and dignities. He sold Berwick and Roxbury to the king of Scotland; and is said to have declared, that he would sell London itself, if he could meet with a purchaser sufficiently rich. The clergy exerted themselves in procuring him soldiers, and the pulpits resounded with the merits of serving in the holy war.

It is not our design to enter into the particulars of this expedition, which crowned the monarch with glory, and plunged the nation into poverty. The adventures of Richard in carrying it on; his victories in Judea over the illustrious Saladin, at the head of the most warlike armies of Asia; his shipwreck in the Adriatic; his subsequent rigorous imprisonment, with his trial and defence before the emperor and diet of Germany, exhibit him, alternately, in the highest elevation, and the lowest depression of human circumstances; and resemble the events of romance, rather than the occurrences of real history. These are at this time less interesting than their consequences, which were of the most calamitous nature. The sum paid for his ransom amounted to three hundred thousand pounds sterling. The wealth of the nation being exhausted by the preparations for the expedition, the sum required on this occasion was extremely difficult to raise. A tax of one fourth part of one year's income was laid on all persons, besides twenty shillings on every knight's fee; one year's wool was also borrowed; and, after all these expedients, it was found necessary to melt down the gold and silver vessels, which had been devoted to the use of the altar. The difficulty of raising what would now seem so inconsiderable a sum, shews the scarcity of money, throughout Europe; and particularly, the impoverished state of England, at that period.

The houses of London being generally built of wood and

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covered with thatch, it was twice enacted, in this reign, that for the prevention of fires, none should be built within the city of other materials than stone, and covered with slate; but poverty for a long time prevented a compliance with these orders. The reign of this monarch, which was scarcely of ten years duration, of which time, not above eight months were spent by him in England, is memorable, for its frequent and excessive taxation, from which no benefit accrued to the people; and for a system of national impoverishment, from which the kingdom did not recover for the space of more than a century. Richard, after a turbulent life of romantic adventure, having received a mortal wound from an arrow, expired A. D. 1199.

Richard was succeeded by John, his brother, who was one of the most unfortunate, and one of the weakest and most wicked princes that ever sat on a throne. In one part of his reign, we see him excommunicated and deposed by papal authority, and the whole kingdom laid under an interdict; the churches shut up; all religious worship suspended; the bodies of Christians excluded from interment in the churchyard; and all funeral ceremonies abolished. Excommunication and interdiction, which at present, both catholics and protestants so little regard, were, in those times, terrible engines in the hands of ecclesiastics. They constituted an important part of the policy of the court of Rome, being considered as the most effectual means of humbling princes, by alienating the affections of their subjects. From their operation in this age of ignorance and superstition, we see John placed on the brink of a precipice; menaced by the haughty denunciations of papal despotism; and reduced to the disgraceful necessity of resigning his crown to the pope, and submitting to hold it as a vassal of the see of Rome. At another period, he is seen involved in a war with the barons; reduced to the last extremity; and compelled to sign the great charter, the foundation of English liberty, known by the name of Magna Charta. This did not terminate the contest. The king sought the first opportunity to revoke those privileges, which he had so reluctantly granted; and,

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intent on resuming an arbitrary power, adopted a desperate expedient for raising men, without money. He despatched agents into France, Flanders, and Germany, with orders to promise to such as would enlist in his service, the confiscated estates of the barons of England; he even invested them with full powers of making formal grants of the lands of the English nobility. A great number of adventurers from Brabant, Flanders, Normandy, Poitou, Gascoigne, and other parts; all soldiers of fortune, and ready to venture their lives to gain estates, were collected, and ready to pour their vagrant bands into England. The king, in the mean while, applied to the pope for his sanction to these violent proceedings, acknowledging himself a vassal of the holy see, and requesting protection from his holiness, as his lord paramount. This application, so flattering to the sovereign pontiff, immediately produced the excommunication of the barons; the foreign troops at the same time, landing at Dover, threw them into the greatest consternation, and soon reduced them, and still more, the people, to a deplorable condition: they saw their estates plundered or seized by foreigners; and their hopeless situation impelled them to adopt the most desperate measures. Their last resource was to send a deputation to Philip Augustus, requesting his assistance, and offering the crown of England to his son Lewis, on condition of his entering England with an army sufficient to protect them against their exasperated king. These proposals were immediately accepted, and Lewis began to prepare for the expedition. The pope, on receiving this intelligence, forbad him to proceed, claiming England as part of St. Peter's patrimony; and, threatening, with excommunication, all who should assist the barons in their war against the king. Philip, however, and Lewis, his son, determined not to lose so glittering a prize through fear of papal thunders, continued their preparations; and the latter, with a numerous army, landing at Sanwich, commenced his military operations with the reduction of Kent. As the pope had declared Lewis excommunicated, the moment he should set foot on English ground, the sentence was now pronounced in form against him, and

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all his adherents. The prince, however, had already resolved to treat with disregard a sentence which he had long expected, and continued his progress to London, where the barons and citizens swore fealty to him, as king of England. John, now in his turn, reduced to the most perplexing straits, was continually in motion, incessantly marching from place to place, apprehensive of enemies, and mistrustful of friends. In crossing the Wash, between Norfolk and Lincolnshire, he lost all his treasure, baggage, and regalia. Vexation and disease put an end to his life in the fifty-first year of his age, after having nominated his son Henry, a boy of ten years of age, successor to his tottering throne.

The almost continual absence of Richard, and still more the intestine commotions in the reign of John, had increased the power of the barons. In those two reigns, most of the baronial castles were again rebuilt and fortified. The contests of John with the nobility contributed to the advancement of freedom; not only by producing the Magna Charta, that palladium of English liberty, but also by the many charters granted to burghs and towns, in the views of diminishing the baronial powers.

John was succeeded A. D. 1216, by his infant son Henry III. in pursuance of his father's nomination; but Lewis, who was in possession of the best part of the kingdom, resolved to maintain his ground; and the war between the two parties was carried on with various success. The decisive battle of Lincoln, in which the French were totally routed, gave an unfavourable turn to his affairs. Lewis returned to London, to wait for succours from France. But the French fleet being attacked and totally defeated by that of the English, all his hopes of reinforcement were frustrated. The sentence of excommunication against him being also read every Sunday in the churches, contributed, in no small degree, to detach the English from his party. Seeing himself, therefore, closely blockaded in London, and destitute of all hopes of assistance, he concluded a treaty of peace upon honourable terms, and evacuated the kingdom; leaving young Henry in peaceable possession of the throne of his ancestors.

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At Henry's accession, the country, exhausted by Richard's expensive expeditions, and the desolating contests between John and his barons, was reduced to extreme poverty; and the tenor of his reign was not such as could enable it to emerge from that state.

During the space of more than a century, which had elapsed from the Norman conquest to the demise of Henry III. multitudes had been destroyed by foreign and civil wars; the people harassed by heavy impositions; and the wealth of the kingdom exhausted, in supporting the power of its kings on the continent, without procuring any national advantage. A gradual change, however, began in time to take place, and the miserable condition of the people, under the first Norman kings, was slowly ameliorated. In so long a space of time it is easy to conceive, that the Normans and the English would be blended and united by frequent intermarriages, and begin to regard themselves in some measure as one people. The barons being born in the country, would naturally consider themselves Anglo Normans, and not as foreigners. These great proprietors of the lands of the kingdom appear, from the Doomsday book, and other records, to have been about 700; but every baron had a number of friends and clients to whom he distributed knights' fees, which were held under him by the usual services. In process of time these knights' fees were again sub-divided, so that every one, who held only a twentieth part, was considered as liber homo, or a gentleman. From this it may easily be conceived, that many of the native English would gradually rise into the superior ranks of society. The great mass, however, of the original English still remained in a servile state; employed in cultivating the lands for their lords, or working at trades in the cities and towns, under their protection, or that of the king. It was among this class of people, which was far the most numerous, that the English language was preserved; for all who affected to shine in a superior sphere, constantly used the French, and nothing but superiority of numbers prevented its general establishment in this country.

The frequent intercourse between this island and the con-

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tinent, since the Norman conquest, being much extended by the crusades, many arts of elegance and luxury were gradually introduced into England, as well as into the other western countries of Europe. Among the improvements of those times, may be reckoned those of the different branches of architecture. Previous to the Norman conquest, all the bridges of England were of wood. In the time of the Saxons, a wooden bridge had been built across the Thames, at London; but about A. D. 1176, a resolution was taken to construct one of stone, which was completed A. D. 1212. In the time of the Saxons, the churches were of simple construction, and small dimensions. The Normans greatly extended them in length, breadth, and height, adding side aisles and transepts, by which the ground plot assumed the form of a cross. This has been continued and transmitted to America, in some of the episcopal churches which adorn the large cities of the United States. St. Philip's church in Charleston, S. C. was built in the 18th century, on this model of Norman origin. Westminster abbey was in this reign taken down, and rebuilt in the new style of architecture, which then began to prevail, and of which it remains a magnificent specimen. It was begun in 1245, and finished in 1269.

Henry, having lived to see the various troubles which agitated his kingdom happily composed, died A. D. 1272, in the fifty-seventh year of his reign, which, although neither happy nor glorious, was eventually productive of great advantages to the English nation, in developing the principles, and strengthening the basis of freedom.

Edward I. at the time of his father's decease was in Palestine, where he supported the glory of the English name. The spiritual and temporal lords unanimously recognised him as king, and wrote to him in the most respectful terms, inviting him to come, and take possession of his inheritance.

All the enterprises of this monarch had, for their objects, grand views of national advantage. His subjugation of Wales freed his kingdom from a hostile power, existing as it were within its bowels; and the conquest of Scotland, which he nearly, although not fully, completed, had the same mani

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fest tendency, to secure the tranquillity of his kingdom, by the subjection of a hostile neighbour, ever ready to ravage the frontiers, or to join with his continental enemies. It requires, indeed, but a small share of political knowledge to discover, that Edward's grand project of conquering the whole island, however it may be considered in respect of equity, involved consequences of far greater utility, than the wars of his predecessors on the continent, or even than the conquest of France. Throughout the whole course of his reign, he uniformly supported the character of an able general, a consummate politician, and a prudent legislator. Firmness or flexibility, as occasions required, characterised his disposition; his severity and clemency were never the effects of passion or caprice, but were always dictated by political motives. In the character of a legislator he appears still greater than in that of a politician or hero; and has received the applauses of a Coke, a Bacon, a Hale, a Blackstone, and a Barrington. In the fourth year of this prince's reign was passed the famous mortmain act, the causes of which eminently display the religion, or the superstition of those times. The blind zeal of the grandees among the laity, in converting their estates to what they called pious uses, or rather their impiety in expecting, after a life of criminality, to bribe heaven by the foundation or endowment of churches or monasteries, had risen to such a height, that without some restriction, all the lands in the kingdom were likely to fall into the hand of the ecclesiastics. This consideration gave rise to the famous statute, prohibiting any donations of this kind, without a license from the crown.

This reign furnishes an exact cotemporary picture of the national marine. Edward I. having entered into a treaty with Philip the Fair, king of France, agreed to furnish that prince, for an expedition against the Flemings, with "twenty of his largest and best ships, each of which was to be manned with, at least, forty stout men, and well furnished with all other requisites of war." The complement of the men, in this case, sufficiently demonstrates the meanness of the vessels. Among the memorable acts of this prince, must be

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reckoned the foundation of the great mercantile town of Hull. On his return from an expedition into Scotland, Edward, happening to hunt on the spot of ground where Hull now stands, and where only a few insignificant cottages were then seen, was struck with its situation, highly advantageous either as a mart of trade, or a military station. In consideration of these advantages, the king immediately caused a town and a fortress to be built; and, under his patronage, it soon became well peopled.

The Scots having rebelled under the conduct of Robert Bruce, whom they had crowned at Scone, when Edward had already imagined their subjugation fully completed, the latter took the horrible resolution of desolating Scotland, and extirpating the inhabitants, or reducing them to the most abject state of slavery. Heaven would not permit the execution of these projects of barbarous policy; for Edward, having made vast preparations, and collected at Carlisle the finest army that England had ever raised, was arrested by the hand of death, when ready to carry his measures into execution. Being desirous of dying in a country which he had thrice conquered, he was carried to the little town of Burgh, where he expired in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, leaving behind him the reputation of one of the greatest monarchs that had swayed the English sceptre. In the dying charge of this monarch to his son, two particulars are recorded, which for their singularity are worthy of remark. The first was, that his bones should be carried at the head of the army about to invade Scotland; not questioning but such an object would encourage the soldiers, and strike terror into those enemies whom he had so often vanquished; and the next, that his heart should be sent to Jerusalem, with 30,000*l.* sterling, which he had provided for the support of the holy sepulchre. These two charges, united with his previous menaces, and cruel design, exhibit a strange and heterogeneous conjunction of vindictive policy, and superstitious piety.*

* In 1774, the stone sarcophagus in which his body had been buried, after it had been enveloped with wax, was opened, and his body was found in

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Edward II. ascended the throne A. D. 1307, in the most favourable circumstances, and nothing could exceed the joy of the people at his accession. The memory of a father so illustrious, and so highly esteemed, inspired the most flattering hopes of his son; but the first measures of his government excited general dissatisfaction. His disastrous wars with Scotland, and his final defeat at Bannockburn, will be related in the history of that kingdom. As the events of his reign were not productive of any important national consequence, we shall not here undertake a recital of transactions, so little interesting to readers of the present day. It suffices to say, that a series of misconduct occasioned this unfortunate prince to be deposed, and afterwards murdered, A. D. 1327, with the most shocking circumstances of cruelty.

Edward III. was, on the deposition of his father, immediately proclaimed king, and soon after crowned at Westminster; but being only in his fifteenth year, and consequently a minor, a regency was established, which, being devoted to his mother Queen Isabella, she, and her favourite Mortimer, directed the affairs of the kingdom. At this period Charles the Fair, king of France, died without male issue; in consequence of which Edward, king of England, being the nephew and nearest relation of that monarch, considered himself as the legitimate heir to the crown. But his consanguinity proceeding from the female line, by his mother Isabella, Philip of Valois, cousin germain to the late king, preferred an opposite claim, grounded on the salique law, which was derived from the Franks, and had ever been the fundamental principle, and invariable rule of succession in the French monarchy. The question therefore, which involved both England and France in a labyrinth of calamities, was briefly this, whether that ancient and celebrated law excluded the person only of females, without being applicable to their male issue, or extended its effects to their descendants. Edward founded his claim on the former, and Philip on the latter interpretation.

perfect preservation, four centuries and a half after his death.—*Annual Register for* 1774, *page* 117; *May* 2*d of the Chronicle.*

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The examination of their pretensions is, at this time, uninteresting. It suffices in this place to remark, that the peers of France gave their decision in favour of Philip; and Edward, who was not in a condition to assert his right, was obliged to submit to the sentence of exclusion, without renouncing his claim, which he was resolved to prosecute at a favourable opportunity. In the mean while, although not yet of full age, he assumed, by the consent of his parliament, the reins of government; and freed himself from the overbearing influence of his mother, and her favourite Mortimer, by the imprisonment of the former, and the execution of the latter, who was condemned unheard.

Edward having now assumed the exercise of royalty, began to revolve vast designs. France and Scotland presented grand objects of ambition, and extensive fields for action; but it was not possible, at once, to engage in two such great undertakings. He resolved therefore to begin with Scotland, intending first to subdue that kingdom, and afterwards to attack France with the whole united force of Great Britain. The king of Scotland was his brother-in-law; but the bond of affinity is seldom a sufficient bar to ambition; and Edward prevailed on the young Baliol, son of John Baliol, placed on the throne, and afterwards deposed, by Edward I. to assert his claim, which, during thirty-eight years, had remained dormant. The result of this contest was the expulsion of David Bruce, and the elevation of Baliol to the throne of Scotland; and one of its most remarkable occurrences was the battle of Hallydown-hill, where Edward commanded in person, and in which the Scotch were totally defeated.

The expeditions which Edward made into Scotland, and the victories which he obtained in the course of this war, gained him great reputation; but shortly after he exhibited his military talents on a nobler theatre, and gave proofs of his courage in facing greater dangers, and contending with more formidable enemies. Leaving Scotland, where no more laurels could be gained, he resolved to turn his arms against France, in consequence of his claim, which he had suffered to

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lie dormant, but had never relinquished; and to wrest from Philip de Valois, the sceptre of that splendid monarchy.

So vast an enterprise required extraordinary preparations. The parliament granted ample supplies, and the whole nation, interested in the glory of the monarch, was eager to encourage and support his pretensions; never once considering, that the conquest of France must have been ruinous to England. The military force of this kingdom was not deemed adequate to so vast an undertaking, and therefore Edward used every means of procuring powerful alliances. He engaged the assistance of the emperor of Germany, the duke of Brabant, and several other German princes, who were to furnish him with a stipulated number of cavalry. But all these connections were not so beneficial to him as that of James D'Arteville, a brewer of Ghent, whose power and influence were so great, that he caused all the cities of Flanders to revolt against their earl. This alliance with the Flemings afforded him the conveniency of assembling his army in Flanders, and the means of opening a way into the enemy's country, from that quarter.

These immense preparations and numerous alliances were so prodigiously expensive, that notwithstanding the vast supplies granted by parliament, Edward was obliged to borrow money, not only of foreign princes, but also of private persons. Rapin affirms, that he even pawned his crown to the archbishop of Triers, for the sum of fifty thousand florins. Having made all the preparations and taken every precaution that prudence could suggest, he sailed from England with a fleet of five hundred sail. Being arrived at Antwerp, and having assumed the title of king of France, he proceeded to Cologne, to hold a conference with the emperor. The first campaign was productive of no important event, and Edward returned to England; but the extent of his preparations plainly indicated, that he expected the second to be more decisive. He had greatly increased his fleet, and his army; and setting sail for the continent, he met with the French fleet on the coast of Flanders, where a decisive action ensued: this was the greatest naval engagement that had ever taken place in those seas; and the first, in which an English king had com-

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manded in person. The French fleet is said to have consisted of four hundred sail; and that of the English is numbered at three hundred. In this action, which lasted from morning till night, Edward displayed astonishing skill, and performed prodigies of valour; the French, on their part, shewed great courage, but at last were totally defeated; and, of their whole fleet, only thirty vessels escaped. As frequent mention of Edward's fleets is made by historians, it is necessary to remark the small size of the vessels, in order to form an idea of the naval engagements of that age. The mayor and sheriffs of London had been required to take up all vessels of forty tons and upwards, and to furnish them with armed men, and other necessaries for war.* Notwithstanding therefore the number of ships, it is evident that two or three frigates of modern times would, in that age, have been sufficient to annihilate the whole marine, both of England and France.

Edward's success in this naval engagement, enabled him to land his troops in Flanders without opposition; and his army, when mustered, was the finest that was ever commanded by an English king; it consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand men, of different nations. He immediately commenced the siege of Tournay, but was unable to take the town. A truce was soon after concluded, and Edward returned to England: many reasons engaged Edward to consent to this suspension of hostilities; but the most urgent of all was the want of money, which he found impossible to obtain, although he had made use of every means for that purpose. His presence, however, was of importance at home; for while he was carrying on the war against France, the Scots had so well improved the opportunity, that Bruce's adherents had nearly expelled Baliol from the kingdom. This unexpected revolution, convincing Edward of his mistake, in supposing Scotland incapable of giving him any further disquiet, he resolved to attack it once more, by land and by sea; but a violent storm prevented the execution of his design. On the termination of a short truce, the French king, having furnished

* Rymer's Fed. vol. 4. p. 664.

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Bruce with men and money, sent him into Scotland, where he levied a formidable army; and, invading England, penetrated as far as Durham, which he took in a few days, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Shortly after, the king of England, desirous of putting an end to the war, which impeded his measures for the attainment of his grand object, proposed a truce for two years, which Bruce gladly accepted.

This interval of tranquillity left Edward at liberty to redress several grievances complained of by his people. He called a parliament, in which he solemnly confirmed the great charter of liberties; and instituted many other regulations for the benefit of his subjects. Amidst the occupations of peace, Edward was intent on preparations for war. He had found his alliances with foreign princes attended with so enormous an expense, and productive of so trifling advantages, that he resolved on a different mode of proceeding. He dispatched into Germany, and the Low Countries, agents, with full powers to treat with all sorts of persons, who were willing to assist him, either with money or men. For the more effectual accomplishment of this design, and to attract to his court numbers of foreign lords, with whom he might personally treat, he bethought himself of an expedient, which eminently displays the character of that age. He instituted tournaments, and gave an honourable reception to all persons of distinction, who chose to be present, treating them in such a manner, as obliged them to admire his politeness, magnificence, and liberality. This gave him an opportunity of attaching them to his interests, and of contracting with them for the supplies which they could furnish. Philip of Valois, ever watchful of Edward's proceedings, was exceeding jealous, on seeing Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and Flemings, and even Frenchmen, his own subjects, flocking to London to assist at the tournaments. Immediately suspecting some hidden designs in these exhibitions, he imagined, that the measures of the king of England would be best counteracted by similar means, and therefore caused the same entertainments to be established in his capital, and made public throughout Europe. Thus the nobility of almost all Christendom were attracted to Lon-

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don and Paris, and numbers of them engaged in the contest between England and France.

The truce being broken before the stipulated time of its expiration, each of the parties accused the other of being the first violater, and hostilities were immediately recommenced. Edward having lost his valuable ally, James Arteville, the brewer of Ghent, who was killed in a popular tumult, found that he had no more advantages to expect from the Flemings, and therefore changed his point of attack. He embarked at Southampton, where having assembled his principal officers, and animated them by his exhortations, he gave free liberty of departure to any one who did not feel himself possessed of courage to proceed; he then sailed to the coast of France, and landed at la Hogue, in Normandy.

It would be to no purpose here, to repeat the particulars of a war related by all historians. In the battle of Cressy, France lost the king of Bohemia, the count d'Alençon, king Philip's brother, the duke of Lorraine, the counts of Flanders and Blois, fifteen other barons, twelve hundred knights, and above thirty thousand men. Historians in general agree that cannon were first used by Edward in this battle, being then unknown to the French; and that to this circumstance the victory was in a great measure to be attributed. Edward used his victory with moderation, and treated the wounded prisoners with great humanity. The memorable siege of Calais is also among the events of this war, as well as the capture of David, king of Scotland, who, taking advantage of Edward's absence, had made an inroad as far as Durham, but was defeated and made prisoner by the queen Philippa of Hainault, who, with dauntless courage and astonishing expedition, collected an army; gave battle to the Scotch; and gained a memorable victory, A. D. 1347, when the king her husband was occupied at the siege of Calais. After the surrender of that city, a truce was concluded with Philip; and Edward returned to England. The English name had never been so glorious as at that period. The glory of Edward was still heightened by the arrival of ambassadors from Germany with an offer of the imperial dignity, which he thought fit to

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decline, as the acceptance thereof might divert him from his principal pursuit, the acquisition of the crown of France, which he considered as a more substantial good. This indeed was the object in which all his views concentered.

In this period of national prosperity and greatness, it pleased Divine Providence to inflict upon England a dreadful calamity. An almost universal pestilence, having first made its appearance in Asia, spread itself westward until it reached Europe and Africa. In France and England its effects were dreadful. In the latter, its rage was so destructive that, according to some authors, in less than two years many towns lost nine-tenths of their inhabitants, and it is generally computed that one half of the nation perished by this terrible disease. London particularly experienced its effects in so great a degree that, in one year, 50,000 persons were buried in the common burial ground, where a chapel and monastery, now called the Charter House, were afterwards built, in commemoration of this dreadful calamity.*

At the expiration of the truce with France, the king of England invested his son, the prince of Wales, with the duchy of Guienne, and dispatched him thither to recommence the war. From this province he made inroads into France, and ravaged the southern parts of that kingdom; but receiving intelligence of the approach of John, king of France, with an army of 60,000 men, he attempted to retreat to Bourdeaux. John, by forced marches, overtook him near Poitiers; and the prince, finding his retreat impossible, intrenched his army at Maupertuis, in a post of difficult access. Here the prince made proposals of peace highly advantageous to France; but John rejected all offers of accommodation, assuring himself that the English army would be obliged to surrender at discretion. The event, however, convinced him of the shortness of human foresight. The army of the prince consisted of about 12,000 men. John might have compelled this small army to surrender, by cutting off its supplies; but his rash courage, and sanguine expectations, induced him to bring the

* Pennant's London, p. 175.

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English to action in a place where the French cavalry was useless. After a hard fought battle, in which both the prince and the king of France performed prodigies of valour, victory declared for the former, and the latter was taken prisoner. On that day, so glorious to England, and so fatal to France, not more than 6,000 French were slain; but in this number were 800 nobles.

Amidst these scenes of war, it is pleasing to contemplate the humanity and politeness exercised towards prisoners, so very different from the maxims of early antiquity. The captive king of France was treated, both in the Prince of Wales's camp, and afterwards in king Edward's court, with all the respect and attention that he could have received at Paris, and the same kind treatment was extended to all the prisoners, according to the distinction of rank. Indeed, all the victories of Edward and his son were rendered more glorious by acts of humanity, and manifestations of piety. The reign of Edward III. seems to have been the age of politeness as well as of magnificence. His glory was not only great, but uncommon, in having prisoners, at one time, his two most potent enemies, the kings of France and Scotland.

A new treaty being made with the Scots, Bruce, their king, was ransomed for 100,000 marks; and a ten years truce was concluded between England and Scotland. John, king of France, also concluded a treaty with Edward concerning his liberation; but the states general of France, disapproving of the conditions, refused its ratification. John therefore remained a prisoner, and Edward transported an army of 100,000 men to Calais. This vast assemblage of troops was divided into three bodies; the first commanded by the king in person, the second by the Prince of Wales, and the third by the Duke of Lancaster. This numerous army, commanded by the three most famous generals at that time in Europe, advanced into France, without opposition; while the Dauphin, finding himself too weak to keep the field, contented himself with placing garrisons in the principal towns, without venturing to hazard a battle. The English army ravaged Artois, and part of Champagne; but the Duke of Burgundy,

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in order to preserve his dominions from plunder, obtained a truce, on terms highly advantageous to Edward. In order to draw the Dauphin into the field, the king of England advanced to the gates of Paris. The smoke of the villages fired by the English, might be seen from the walls; but the Dauphin, taught by the examples of his father and grandfather, was too prudent to hazard the crown on the decision of a battle. Edward finding the siege of Paris too difficult an undertaking to afford any hope of success, was obliged to retire. It was undoubtedly a great mortification to him to see how little progress he had made with so powerful an army. He was then in the heart of France, without having been able to make any useful conquest; and his troops were daily diminished by sickness. These considerations, undoubtedly, weighed with him to put a stop to the war. Historians, however, assign another cause for his conduct. While he lay encamped near Chartres, a sudden and dreadful storm arose, accompanied with thunder and hail of an extraordinary size, which killed 6,000 horses, and 1,000 men of his army, among whom was the Lord Morley, and Lord Guy de Beauchamp, eldest son of the Earl of Warwick, who being mortally wounded by a hail stone, soon afterwards died. So extraordinary an affair was, by the troops, considered as a sign of the wrath of heaven. The king himself seemed to be of the same opinion; for when the storm was in its greatest fury, he turned himself towards the church of Chartres, and, falling on his knees, vowed to terminate the war on equitable terms.

It is not difficult to conceive, that the storm, which fell with such destructive fury on Edward's army, should terrify a superstitious multitude; but that it should have the same effect on the mind of a powerful conqueror, at the head of a victorious army, is somewhat more extraordinary. It is possible that Edward might rightly judge, that no great success could be expected from the courage and exertions of soldiers, who believed themselves to be engaged in a cause which heaven had marked with its disapprobation, or that, seeing the impracticability of his undertaking, he might take that favourable op-

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portunity of appearing to make peace through motives of piety, rather than discover his inability to accomplish his design. Whatever was his real inducement, a treaty was concluded, and, for the due performance of it, thirty hostages were selected from among the nobility and burghers of the principal towns of France, who being delivered, the French king was permitted to depart for his kingdom. The return of that prince into England, before the expiration of the year, has given rise to much historical discussion. Writers, however, in general assert, that the barons of France opposing the fulfilment of the treaty, John voluntarily returned to resign himself a prisoner. Rapin, however, positively, and apparently on good grounds, contradicts this current opinion, and says, that his motives remain entirely a secret. John was received in England with extraordinary honours, and had his residence at the Savoy, as usual; but about three months after his arrival, he died of a dysentery.

That sunshine of glory, which had hitherto brightened the reign of Edward III. now began to be obscured by the clouds of misfortune. His affairs on the continent were thrown into irretrievable disorder. Du Guesclin, constable of France, every where defeated the English. He laid siege to Rochelle, with the assistance of a fleet, sent by the king of Castile, to form the blockade by sea. The total defeat of an English fleet, sent to throw succours into the town, completed the ruin of their affairs. Rochelle was taken; and the constable of France formed the siege of Thouars. Edward, on receiving intelligence of these disasters, resolved to go in person to raise the siege of a place which was of the greatest importance. For this purpose he collected a fleet of four or five hundred sail; but the winds were contrary, and all his affairs unprosperous. He was six weeks at sea without being able to reach the coast of France, and was no sooner returned to London than he heard that the French were in possession of all Poitou. One disaster followed another in quick succession, and the towns belonging to the English, were taken with astonishing rapidity; some of them even surrendered before the French approached their walls; so that, on the side of the English,

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the war was only a continued series of defeats. Before its termination, of all the acquisitions which the English, by the expense of so much blood and treasure, had made in France, Calais alone remained in their possession; a striking proof of the instability of fortune, and the uncertainty of political views. How much better would the money, lavished on those romantic enterprises, have been expended in national improvements! The name of Edward would not have been less glorious, and the kingdom, instead of being exhausted, would, in the course of his long reign, have been wealthy, populous, and flourishing. Edward, however, in the latter part of his life, seems to have lost his martial disposition, and gave himself up, in his old age, to the dalliances of love. Becoming passionately enamoured of Alice Piers, she gained so absolute an ascendency over him, as to direct all his conduct. He resembled an automaton, moving at her command, and lavished on her the sums raised for the war, which excited a universal discontent. The life of this great prince terminated under an accumulation of distress, seldom experienced in so elevated a situation. He had, before he left the world, the mortification of seeing the world leave him. His favourite mistress, who attended him, and scarcely suffered any to enter the room, seeing his last hour approaching, seized every thing of value she could find, and privately withdrew. Being thus wholly abandoned, a priest, accidentally entering, found the greatest monarch of the age struggling in the agonies of death, without one single attendant. The pious ecclesiastic, seeing him in his forlorn state, addressed to him some suitable exhortations, to which the dying king endeavoured to reply; but his voice was too weak, and his words too inarticulate, to be understood. Thus died Edward the III. in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign, the greatest monarch and warrior of his time.

The reign of this monarch, how much soever it may seem to embellish the historic page, must be considered as productive of greater glory than advantage to England. His unfortunate claim to the crown of France was the cause of a

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multitude of calamities to both kingdoms. A great part of France was, at different times, ravaged by his armies; while England was exhausted for their support. The enormous expense of his continental expeditions obliged him to adopt almost every expedient, that political skill could suggest, for the obtaining of money, and even, in some cases, to make use of means that were arbitrary and oppressive. It seems that the opulence of England must have greatly increased, during the whole course of his reign. The long and bloody wars with France, among the various evils with which they were attended, appear, however, to have been eventually productive of a benefit to England, which was at that time unforeseen. While the nation was exhausted of its wealth to carry on a ruinous contest, one of the corner stones of its future prosperity was laid. Edward's long residence in the Netherlands, and his personal acquaintance with some of the principal trading towns, afforded him a great opportunity of remarking their opulence and splendour; and his penetration enabled him to discover, that commerce was the source of these advantages. As he could not be ignorant that the manufacture of cloth, of which England supplied the chief part of the materials, was one of the causes, and principal supports of their greatness, it was natural that a prince, whose views were so extensive, would think of some plan to increase the wealth of his kingdom, from the domestic manufacture of its own produce. It was about A. D. 1331, that Edward, by inviting foreign cloth workers from the Netherlands, began to establish a manufacture, to which England owes so great a part of her commercial greatness, and present prosperity. Before that period, the English were only shepherds and wool sellers, and their kings receiving few other imposts than those on wool, were no less dependent on the Netherlanders, who were almost the only woollen manufacturers in Europe, than the latter on them. The reign of Edward III. is the period from which we can date the effectual permanent establishment of the woollen manufactures of England.

In the army, consisting of upwards of 40,000 men, which

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Edward carried over to the continent, and landed at Antwerp, the sum total of the expenses, for one year, and one hundred and thirty-one days, amounted to 127,101*l.* 2*s.* 9½*d.* or 381,303*l.* 8*s.* 4½*d.* of modern money. This sum would be an insignificant part of the expense of a similar armament in our days. The difference arises from the cheapness of provisions, the low value of the instruments of war, then in use, such as battering rams, bows and arrows, slings, darts, lances, and swords, when compared with the expensiveness of our cannon, bombs, grenadoes, and muskets, with the prodigious consumption of lead and iron shot, bombshells, and gunpowder. From the time of Edward I. the feudal levies began to be disused, and Edward III. carried on his wars chiefly with hired soldiers collected from different countries, who were found to be more easily disciplined, and more obedient to the sovereign, or the military commanders, than bands of feudal vassals, following their superior lord; and more ready to obey his commands than those of the king. To the regular discipline of these mercenaries the victory of Cressy and Poitiers over the superior armies of France, where the feudal system of warfare prevailed in all its force, are perhaps, in a great measure to be attributed. In this reign, war became a trade, not less lucrative than honourable; and soldiers, of all ranks, returned laden with money and spoils, which enabled them to make a figure, and gave rise to luxury among that description of men. We frequently find that, when Edward was on the continent, the impossibility of raising money for the wool tax obliged the collectors to take it in kind, and to send sacks of that commodity to the merchants of Flanders to be sold for the king's use. Edward III. was, however, the first of the English monarchs who coined gold; none having been coined, in this kingdom, before the eighteenth year of his reign.

The naval armaments of those days, when estimated by the number of vessels, made a considerable figure on paper; as we frequently hear of fleets of four or five hundred sail; but, when we consider the dimensions of their ships, and their complement of men, we shall form a just idea of the mari-

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time force of that age, and see that, how formidable soever the armies might be, the fleets would appear contemptible in the eye of a modern observer. In those days, and for about two centuries afterwards, there was not, properly speaking, any royal navy, but only a sort of naval militia; every seaport, in proportion to its trade and opulence, being obliged to furnish a certain number of ships and mariners. In those times, freedom and commerce had not yet diffused wealth among the people, so as to afford them the means of indulgence. Luxury, therefore, like riches, was confined to a few, and, how much soever it might prevail among the nobility, the dignified churchmen, military adventurers, who had made fortunes in the wars, or opulent citizens, of whom a few even at that early period had enriched themselves by trade, it is evident that the great bulk of the people still remained in nearly the same abject situation, in which they had been, in most countries, from time immemorial, and consequently were restrained from excess, by the imperious law of necessity.

The character of this age is further illustrated, and the picture of society rendered more complete, by an act of parliament passed in the first year of the ensuing reign, and which, consequently, refers to the manners and customs of the period, now under consideration. This statute exhibits in a striking point of view, the fashions of the feudal system; "Whereas," says the act, "divers people, of small revenue of land rent, do keep a great retinue of people, giving them hats and other liveries of one suit, yearly, taking of them the value by such covenant or assurance, that they shall maintain each other in all quarrels, reasonable or unreasonable, to the great mischief and oppression of the people. It is now therefore enacted, that no such liberty be allowed to any one for the maintenance of quarrels, on pain of imprisonment and fine to the king." Here we see the extraordinary and dangerous extension of the feudal customs, which the spirit of imitation had suggested, and fashion established.

To form a more precise idea of the wealth, the influence, and power, of the greater barons, it suffices to consider their

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immense possessions. Many of them had more than a hundred spacious manors, which they held in their own hands, and managed by their bailiffs. Hugh Spencer, the elder, when recalled from his exile, complained that his enemies had ravaged seventy-six of his manors, and driven away 28,000 sheep, 22,000 head of black cattle, and 600 horses. From the vast possessions of many of those feudal lords, we may easily account for the magnificence which they displayed, and the luxury in which they lived; while the great mass of the people were scantily supplied with the necessaries, and wholly destitute of most of the conveniences, of life. To judge of the slavish condition of the poor in those times, it suffices to observe, that the laws subjected any labourer or servant, who should depart from his service, and go into another county, to be branded with the letter P. on his forehead.* But these people possessing little or no property, and living by manual labour, under the landed interest, were obliged to be contented with the lot to which they and their fathers were accustomed.

"An English beau, of this period, (the 14th century,) wore long pointed shoes, fastened to his knees by gold or silver chains; hose of one colour on the one leg, and of another colour on the other; short breeches which reached to the middle of his thighs; a coat, the one half white, the other half black or blue; a long beard; a silk hood, buttoned under his chin, embroidered with grotesque figures of animals, dancing men, &c. and sometimes ornamented with gold and precious stones." This dress was the height of the mode in the reign of king Edward III.†

Although the greater part of the reign of Edward III. was spent amidst the tumults of wars, none of the preceding monarchs made so many regulations in favour of commerce. Nor must it be forgotten, that this was the period in which that odious badge of slavery, the obligation of pleading in French, was removed from the courts of judicature. Al-

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1. p. 364.

† Dr. Henry.

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though this was distinguished as a martial age; yet it was not destitute of genius and literary merit. Chaucer will never be forgotten in the annals of verse.

This reign of Edward III., as being particularly distinguished by great actions and interesting events, has a peculiar claim to attention. It has therefore been selected as a middle period, between the Norman conquest and the improved age of Queen Elizabeth, and, consequently, as the most proper station for taking a general view of life and manners in England, during the middle ages. Several of the succeeding reigns, being less calculated to excite curiosity or interest, will admit of greater brevity of narration.

Richard II., son of Edward Prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, and grandson of Edward III., succeeded to the throne, but did not inherit the great abilities of those two illustrious progenitors. The war with France was renewed, but feebly carried on; and the fleet and armies of the enemy insulted several ports of the coasts, and burned the towns of Hastings, Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth. The internal disorders of the kingdom; the mismanagement of public affairs; the seditions of the people; and the discontent of the great, caused all the troubles of this reign.

Several real, and supposed grievances, excited a general discontent among the people. One of the principal causes was the poll tax, which, was new and oppressive. They also complained, that no care was taken to protect the coasts against the frequent descents of the French. To this was added a general murmuring against the judges, and all the agents of the law, who ruined the people by their extortions. The nobles and gentry were also hated by the peasants, on account of the oppressive system of villainage. The people were in such a state of irritability, that the least excitement was sufficient to raise a general insurrection. Wat Tyler soon saw himself at the head of a hundred thousand men, whose fury was raised to the greatest height by the sermons of John Ball, a seditious priest of Maidstone. This revolutionist, of the fourteenth century, persuaded them, that there ought to be no distinction

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among men, and, consequently, that it was their duty to reduce all to an equality. This doctrine, so agreeable to an ignorant and necessitous multitude, was eagerly swallowed, and the mob, in pursuance of so pernicious a maxim, began their operations, by indiscriminately beheading all such of the nobility and dignified clergy, as well as men of the robe, whether judges, counsellors, or lawyers, as fell into their hands. The king, hearing that the insurgents were assembled on Blackheath, sent to know their demands; but they returned for answer, that they expected him to come and confer with them in person. This demand not being complied with, they immediately marched for London, and possessed themselves of Southwark. London bridge was, at that time, secured with gates, which, being shut, might, at least for some time, have checked their impetuosity; but the city mob, infected with the same levelling frenzy, opened them, in spite of the magistrates. Nothing then opposing their progress, they entered the capital, and committed all the ravages that could be expected from so numerous and so frantic a body. In this universal confusion, London resembled a town taken by storm. The palaces of the Duke of Lancaster and the Archbishop, with those of the nobility, the judges, magistrates, and principal citizens, were burned to the ground, and every mark of grandeur and distinction was an object of their destructive fury.

The Flemings, against whom they were particularly incensed, were dragged from the churches where they had taken sanctuary, and immediately massacred. It was somewhat singular in the conduct of this lawless rabble that, disclaiming all motives of avarice, they destroyed every thing valuable, without appropriating any part to themselves. The insurgents, having thus ravaged the city, approached the Tower, and the terrified garrison threw open the gates. Here they found the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Prior of St. John's, High Treasurer of England, both of whom they instantly beheaded. They then divided themselves into three bodies. Wat Tyler, with 30,000 men, kept possession of the Tower and its environs. Straw, captain of the banditti of Essex, at

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the head of 60,000 men, advanced into the city, while the third division encamped upon Mile End green. The king and his council being now in the utmost perplexity, resolved to grant them a free pardon with an authentic charter of liberties, which the insurgents of Essex gladly accepted and departed well satisfied. But Tyler, coming to a conference with the king, made the most extravagant proposals, requiring that all the old laws should be abolished, and the government new modelled according to a plan of his own forming. Whilst in the midst of the conference, Sir William Walworth, Mayor of London, was so exasperated at his insolence, that with a blow of his sword he laid the rebel dead at his feet. While his partisans were bending their bows to revenge the death of their leader, king Richard, then only sixteen years of age, rode up to them, and, with great courage and presence of mind, thus addressed them, "What! my people, will you kill your king? be not concerned for the death of your leader; follow me, and I will be your general." The conduct of the king made so great an impression on the minds of the mob, that, imagining him to have really espoused their quarrel, they immediately followed him; but on arriving in the fields, they perceived a body of a thousand armed citizens advancing towards them. Terrified at this sight, and imagining that the whole city was in arms to attack them, the foremost threw down their arms and begged for quarter; the rest hastened to imitate their example, and thus this formidable mass of insurgents was dispersed in a manner almost miraculous. One cannot, indeed, contemplate so singular an event, attended with circumstances so extraordinary, without ascribing the issue of this dreadful eruption of popular fury to a providential direction of causes and consequences. The daring resolution of the mayor; the presence of mind of the king, and the effects of his conduct; the panic fear of so numerous a body at the sight of a few armed citizens; and the consequent dispersion of this democratic rabble; and indeed all the circumstances seem to point out, in a particular manner, the agency of Him who holds in his hand

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the hearts of men, and sways all events with an irresistible control.

The spirit of insurrection was not confined to Kent and Essex, nor the effects of its fury displayed solely in London. In Suffolk and Norfolk it made its appearance in a manner not less terrible. In the former of these counties, two seditious priests assembled a body of 50,000 men, and perpetrated similar acts of outrageous cruelty to those exercised in the capital. In Norfolk, a publican headed a numerous rabble, who cruelly massacred all the judges and lawyers that fell into their hands. This insolent demagogue obliged the nobility and gentry to do homage to him on their knees, and ordered the earl of Suffolk's head to be immediately struck off for refusing to submit to this indignity. To remedy these disorders which, from so many different quarters at once, threatened the destruction of all social order, it became necessary, that private persons should endeavour to save themselves and their country from the impending danger. On this occasion, Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, signalized his courage and conduct; and immortalized his name. Thinking it his duty to do something more than offer up prayers in this season of anarchy, this courageous prelate put himself at the head of a few loyal subjects, and attacking the rebels, defeated them with a terrible slaughter. The publican of Norwich, and a priest, the leaders of the rebels, were both taken prisoners. The former was beheaded on the spot, and the latter was sent to London to receive the reward of his crimes. A formidable army was raised to preserve the tranquillity of the country. The charter granted to the revolters of Essex was revoked, and the guilty were brought to justice. It is said by Rapin, that besides those who fell by the sword, about 15,000 died by the hand of the executioner. These proceedings appear tinctured with severity; but desperate cases require desperate remedies. It can scarcely be doubted, that the people had many and just causes of complaint; but their mode of seeking redress was illegal and ruinous; and the whole of their conduct was marked with extravagance and

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cruelty. The abolition of villainage was also perhaps, in that age, impracticable. An ignorant and semi-barbarous people are not in a moment made fit for the assumption of freedom, in their own mode. The progress of liberty must be gradual, and the minds of men must be enlightened, before they can be capable of estimating its blessings, or of exercising its privileges.

This dreadful commotion of an outrageous populace was the most important event of Richard's reign. The remaining part exhibits a continued series of extravagant expenditure; of arbitrary measures; and various other kinds of mismanagement which terminated in the deposition and death of that unfortunate prince. Henry, son of the duke of Lancaster, having been banished and deprived of his paternal inheritance, returned into England, while Richard was absent in Ireland. The whole nation, weary of the despotism and luxurious extravagance of the king, and his favourites, declared for Henry, now duke of Lancaster. Richard was deposed, A. D. 1399, after a reign of twenty-two years, and soon after, either starved to death or murdered in Pontefract castle, in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

The resources of the kingdom appear to have been, in this reign, very considerable. Large armies were speedily raised; and money was levied by every mode of extortion. Besides the ample supplies granted by parliament, Richard had constant recourse to loans, or rather extorted grants; and almost every nobleman, prelate, and rich burgess in the kingdom, was, at one time or other, obliged to lend him money, although it was well known that he never intended repayment. By his extravagant dissipation and luxury, he was reduced to such straits as obliged him to pawn his crown to the city of London for 2,000*l.* With all these expedients, the military sometimes could not be paid, and were therefore suffered to live at discretion, and ravage the country which they were raised to defend.

Richard is said to have daily maintained in his palace, 6,000 persons; 300 are said to have been employed in his

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kitchen, and a proportionate number in the queen's apartment. In treating of any thing that is extraordinary, writers are too often prone to exaggerate, but there must be something really uncommon to excite and authorise their exaggerations. All agree that Richard's court was more splendid than that of any of his predecessors; for even his inferior domestics were clothed like noblemen. This extravagant luxury, together with his arbitrary measures, precipitated this unfortunate monarch into ruin, and deprived him of a crown, which he had worn with too much ostentation. In his reign, however, many good laws were enacted in favour of commerce, the woollen manufacture, and the herring fishery.

On the deposition of Richard, Henry duke of Lancaster, his cousin, succeeded to the vacant throne, A. D. 1399. The reign of this prince affords few interesting materials for history. In this compendium, of which the design is to exhibit the progress of nations rather then the intrigues of courtiers, the cabals of individuals or parties, the transactions of Henry IV. cannot occupy much space. His foreign wars were attended with no decisive consequences; but plots and conspiracies at home, agitated his reign, and suspicions, too often well grounded, embittered his life. His crown which had been acquired by methods, not generally approved, and preserved by shedding a torrent of noble blood, sat uneasy on his head. Its preservation employed all his thoughts, and he carefully avoided all occasions by which it might be endangered. His prudent policy, in this respect, was the grand characteristic of his reign. The conspiracies formed, for the purpose of wresting the sceptre from his hand, induced him to shew great regard to the clergy, in order to attach to his interest so powerful a body. Ever desirous of shewing his zeal for the church, he had the disgrace of being the first English monarch that condemned heretics to the flames.

The opinions of Wickliffe first published towards the end of the reign of Edward III. had so rapidly spread, that their prevalence appeared, to the clergy, extremely alarming. In the reign of Richard II. a general license for imprisoning heretics had been obtained by the bishops; but the parliament

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had caused it to be revoked. As the penalty of imprisonment did not seem sufficient to check the propagation of the new doctrines, Henry earnestly recommended to his parliament the care of the concerns of the church, and through the influence of the court and the clergy, an act was passed 2d. Henry IV. for the burning of obstinate heretics. This statute was no sooner obtained, than the ecclesiastical court condemned William Sawtree, a priest of London, who, being delivered over to the secular arm, was burnt alive, by virtue of the king's writ. This man was the first who fell a victim to intolerance. Henry IV. died A. D. 1413.

Henry V. his son, succeeded him. His reign was productive of more glory than benefit to the English nation. The first act of his government was to call a parliament at Leicester, in which a sanguinary statute was enacted, obliging all the magistrates of England to bind themselves, by an oath, to exert all their power to exterminate heretics. A war with France was proposed, and resolved on. This renewal of hostilities with that kingdom, appears to have been first determined on by Henry and the clergy. The commons had, in the late reign, proposed the appropriation of a considerable part of the ecclesiastical revenues to the exigencies of the state; and they now again revived the project. The prelates could, therefore, devise no better expedient for diverting the impending storm, than the renewal of the contest with France; not only for the recovery of the provinces wrested from England, but also for the prosecution of the king's claim to the crown. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in an elaborate speech, exhibited the numerous grounds of complaint which the nation had against France; and the indisputable right of Henry to the crown of that kingdom, as heir and successor of Edward III. He represented the salique law as a chimera, and declared it to be a contradiction to the law of nature and of God, adducing, in corroboration of his arguments, the decision in favour of the daughters of Zelophehad, relative to their paternal inheritance. He recalled to their remembrance the glorious successes of Edward, as evidence of the Divine approbation of his cause; but ascribed

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the subsequent disasters to the sins of the English; which, although they drew vengeance on the nation, could not invalidate the claims of that prince, and his successors, to the crown of France. He reminded them, that the state of affairs, in that kingdom, presented an opportunity peculiarly favourable to the undertaking. Then addressing himself to the king, he exhorted him not to look at the difficulties, but at the glory of a conquest, which would render him the most powerful prince of Europe; and finally, he concluded, that to promote so glorious an enterprise the clergy would give him a larger subsidy than had ever been granted to his predecessors. This speech of the archbishop had the desired effect; the war with France was resolved upon; subsidies were granted; and measures concerted for carrying the king's designs into execution.

The affairs of France were, at that time, in a situation which offered extraordinary advantages to an invading enemy. The reigning king, Charles V. was afflicted with a species of lunacy which, although he had some lucid intervals, rendered him unfit to govern a nation. The Dauphin was of a violent disposition, and inexperienced in public affairs. Paris exhibited a scene of extreme disorder; and France was split into parties; all classes of people were divided in their attachments, and all parts of the kingdom agitated by the factions of the court. In this state of affairs, Henry thought, that he could scarcely have more than one half of the French nation to contend with. His reputation for piety, according to the ideas of that age, was established by his readiness to extirpate heresy, and to consent to the extension of those disgraceful laws of the preceding reign, which ordained the burning of men's bodies for the good of their souls. Nothing therefore remained to be done, but to exhibit to the world his martial abilities.

Henry having mustered his forces for this grand expedition, the embarkation took place on the 18th August, 1415, in 1500 ships; the army consisting of about 50,000 men. With these he landed on the 21st at Havre de Grace; and, after a short siege, made himself master of Harfleur. The memora-

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ble battle of Agincourt, fought shortly after, under circumstances of extreme disadvantage on the side of the English, is esteemed one of the most brilliant actions recorded in history. The French historians allow that the superiority of their forces was in the proportion of three or four to one. But in another respect their advantages can scarcely be calculated, being healthy and vigorous, while the English were generally ill with the dysentery; and not only emaciated by sickness, but also exhausted with fatigue. To counterbalance this disparity, one circumstance, of no small importance, must be taken into view; the fatal error of the constable D'Albret, commander of the French army, in choosing for the field of battle a contracted spot of ground, which prevented him from extending his front, and deprived him of all the advantages he might have derived from superiority of numbers, and especially from his cavalry. Being master of the country, he might have brought the enemy to action in a more open place, where it would not have been difficult to surround their whole army. Henry, in this battle, performed acts of personal valour equal to those of the most renowned heroes, and appears, indeed, to have displayed more of the soldier than the general; fighting on foot at the head of his men; rushing in among the thickest of the enemy; and seeming to forget that on his fate that of his army depended.

In this memorable battle many noblemen and officers of distinction, with 10,000 private soldiers, were left dead on the field. The loss of the English was inconsiderable. A plundering party being mistaken for a rallied body of the enemy, obliged Henry to give orders to kill the prisoners, who are said to have been more numerous than the whole English army. On discovering the mistake, the order was instantly countermanded, and a stop put to its execution; but numbers had already fallen victims to this fatal measure of necessity.

After the memorable victory at Agincourt, the fortune of the war continued, in general, favourable to the English; but without any of those striking incidents which attract the attention of posterity. At last, after a variety of sieges, skirmishes, and negotiations, a treaty was concluded at Troys, in

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which it was agreed, that the king of England should marry the princess Catherine, daughter of the king of France; and that he should have the government of the kingdom, with the title of regent, during the life of his father-in-law, and be recognised as lawful heir to the crown. This treaty, which excluded the Dauphin from the succession, being made with only one of the two factions which divided the kingdom, did not terminate the war. One half of France still remained unconquered; and although the king of England was in possession of Paris, the southern provinces adhered to the party of the Dauphin. After two years more employed in hostilities, Henry died at Vincennes, A. D. 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after a glorious reign of about nine years and a half; having committed the administration of affairs in France to the Duke of Bedford, and the regency of England to the Duke of Gloucester, during the minority of his son, who was then an infant of nine months old.

In making a comparison between the achievements of Edward III. and those of his great-grandson Henry V. in their expeditions against France, it must be taken into consideration, that the former had to contend with the whole force of the united kingdom, while the latter was only opposed by a part of its strength. The enterprise of Edward must, therefore, be looked upon as more arduous. Henry's success was, in a great measure, owing to his dextrous management of the different parties that divided the kingdom, and his negotiations advanced his interests more than his victories. Both their enterprises, however, were extremely prejudicial to England as well as to France. They exhausted the resources of the former, and desolated many of the finest provinces of the latter; and had they proved ultimately successful, would have involved in their success the ruin of England. At this day we, as distant spectators of those mighty projects, which so long attracted the attention of Europe, may, without difficulty, estimate their possible, as well as their actual, consequences, and, did not innumerable instances convince us, how much mankind are dazzled by the splendour of glory and conquest, we should be surprised at the short sighted policy of Eng-

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land, and perhaps also of France, at those remarkable periods. The parliament of England voted immense sums; soldiers from all countries were hired by Edward, and paid with English money. The nation exhausted its wealth in an undertaking, for which its only reward, in case of success, was to see England made a subordinate province of France. The French, at the same time, as obstinately persisted in excluding the king of England from the succession to their crown, and in preventing a union between the two kingdoms, of which France would have reaped all the benefit. France, in the event of the union, would, from her natural advantages, and her more immediate connection with the general politics of Europe, have become the seat of government. Paris would have been the capital of the united monarchy, and thither the nobility of England would have been attracted, while London, deprived of the presence of the sovereign, and the residence of the court, would have sunk into a provincial city, instead of being the metropolis of a great empire. In this point of view it is difficult to decide, which of the two nations committed the greatest political error, the English in promoting, or the French in opposing Edward's succession, and the consequent union of England with France. In the reign of Henry V. the same scenes were renewed, and the same remarks may be applied to their political tendency.

The revenue of England, at the time of Henry's great expedition, amounted to no more than 56,966*l.* To pay the expenses of his formidable armament, he was obliged to pawn his jewels for money to be paid out of the next year's subsidy on wool. The year following, the like want of money obliged him to exact a loan from the Italian merchants settled in London; in short, he was obliged to borrow from every source. At this time Holborn, now one of the finest streets in the metropolis, was a highway, so miry, and so difficult for carriages, that the king caused it to be paved at his own expense.

Henry VI. at the age of nine months, succeeded his father, and his long reign is rendered remarkable by his misfortunes, rather than his misconduct. The death of Henry V. was, in

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less than two months, followed by that of Charles VI. king of France; a circumstance which produced a total alteration in the state of affairs. The Duke of Bedford lost no time in causing young Henry to be proclaimed king of France, at Paris, and then, breaking the great seal, he caused a new one to be made, on which were engraved the arms of England and France, with the effigies of the young king, holding in each hand a sceptre. The Dauphin, at the same time, assuming the regal title, was crowned at Poictiers, Rheims being then in the possession of the English. Thus Henry VI. and Charles VII. at the same time, bore the title of king of France; and, during the space of thirty years, disputed the possession of the throne. Ever since the treaty of Troys, there had been in France two kings, two queens, and two courts, and the whole kingdom was divided between the contending parties. That of Charles was, for some time, nearly annihilated by the abilities of the English regent; but that extraordinary political phœnomenon, the Maid of Orleans, almost miraculously turned the scale. The successes of Charles occurred with astonishing rapidity, while the English experienced continual disasters. The death of the duke of Bedford, the most accomplished prince of his time, added to the defection of the duke of Burgundy, completed the ruin of the English cause in France.

The peculiar misfortune of England was her internal disunion. The king had married Margaret of Anjou, a princess of great spirit, haughty temper, and implacable in her resentment. The duke of York, the most powerful subject in England, was descended, by the mother's side, from Lionel, an elder son of Edward III. and prior in claim to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, from whom the reigning king was descended. Mindful of this priority, he lost no opportunity of forming a party, in order to assert his right. The ill success of the English arms in France, excited a general murmur. The country was exhausted with taxes, and the people were tired of a war productive of nothing but disaster and national impoverishment. After a great deal of intrigue and political manœuvre, the duke of York threw off the mask, and

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openly asserted his claim to the crown, in which he was supported by the famous Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, commonly called the king-maker. This nobleman possessed the greatest landed estate in England, and, consequently, had the greatest number of vassals; and his extraordinary abilities contributed to render him exceedingly formidable. The queen vindicated her own and her husband's right; and assembling an army, gave battle to the party of York; but she was defeated. A parliament being assembled, undertook to compromise the matter, by enacting, that Henry should enjoy the crown during his life, and the duke of York be his successor. The queen protesting against this arrangement, which excluded her issue from the throne, retired to the northern part of the kingdom, levied an army, and, in the year 1460, fought the battle of Wakefield, in which the duke of York was defeated and slain. His son, afterwards Edward IV. immediately prepared to revenge his father's death, and gained several victories over the king's forces. The queen defeated the great earl of Warwick in the second battle of St. Albans; but did not dare to enter London, where Edward was received and proclaimed king, A. D. 1461. Henry having neither abilities nor inclination for military affairs, the queen had the whole management of the war; she found means to raise another army in the north, the command of which she gave to the duke of Somerset, while she and the king remained at York in expectation of some favourable result. The battle of Towton, in Yorkshire, fought 29th March, A. D. 1461, was one of the most bloody and desperate conflicts recorded in the annals of civil war. Great exertions were made by both sides; but victory at last declared for Edward. As no quarter was given, the slaughter was almost incredible; historians compute the number of slain at above 36,000. A great storm of snow which fell early in the day, and blew full in the face of the Lancastrians, is thought, by some, to have greatly contributed to their defeat. This civil war was carried on with a degree of animosity and sanguinary cruelty, scarcely paralleled in history. In battle, quarter was seldom given; and, if any persons of rank were made prisoners, they

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were in a few hours led to execution. After this decisive defeat, Margaret and her husband fled for refuge into Scotland, where they met with a generous protection; and, by concessions made to the Scots, raised another army; but meeting with successive defeats, the unfortunate Henry was, at last, carried prisoner to London.

Edward IV., having been crowned on the 29th June, sent the Earl of Warwick on an embassy to the king of France, to ask the sister of that monarch in marriage; but while this affair was negotiating, he fell in love with, and married the lady Elizabeth, widow of Sir John Grey. The earl having been successful in his negotiation, considered the conduct of Edward as an unpardonable insult to himself, and resolved to hurl him from a throne, to which he had so effectually contributed to advance him. This design he nourished in his mind for the space of about three years, before he met with an opportunity sufficiently favourable for its execution. Having raised a strong party, he expelled Edward from the throne. This prince having been taken prisoner, was so fortunate as to make his escape, and at last, with great difficulty, got out of the kingdom, and took refuge in Holland, where, for some time, he lived in great poverty and distress. The Earl of Warwick drew Henry from his imprisonment in the Tower, and that prince, who was, during his whole life, the sport of fortune, was, with great solemnity, again proclaimed king of England.

Edward, after remaining some time in exile, found means to equip a small force, of about 2000 men, with which he landed in Yorkshire. His little army was soon increased by the accession of numerous adherents, and Edward, advancing southward, entered London, without opposition, resumed the functions of royalty, and made Henry once more his prisoner. The Earl of Warwick, marching towards London, was abandoned by the Duke of Clarence, which reduced his affairs to so desperate a state, that no alternative was left between victory and irretrievable ruin. Edward marched out of the capital to prevent Warwick's approach. The memorable battle of Barnet, fought 14th of April, A. D. 1471,

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nearly put an end to the terrible contest, which had so long desolated the kingdom. The Earl of Warwick was there defeated and slain. Shortly after, Edward defeated another body of Lancastrian forces at Tewksbury, and made Queen Margaret prisoner, together with her son Edward, who, as well as his father, king Henry, then confined in the Tower, are said to have been murdered by the Duke of Gloucester.

The remainder of Edward IVth's career was a scene of gallantries and tragedies. Towards the end of his reign he seemed inclined to renew the old claim of the kings of England to the crown of France. He was making preparations for a war for that purpose, when he was arrested by the hand of death, in the forty-second year of his age, A. D. 1483.

This tumultuous and troublesome period, which continued during the whole life of Henry VI. whose infant reign was a scene of unsuccessful hostilites with France, and whose maturer years were embittered by an unprosperous civil war, was productive of scenes, which, in an eminent degree, shew the insufficiency of greatness to confer happiness. Henry, at his accession, being king of both England and France, seemed placed at the summit of human greatness; yet no prince ever experienced more striking vicissitudes of fortune. The times were peculiarly unpropitious, and his abilities were not adapted to the difficult situation in which he was placed. To have been born heir to a crown was Henry's greatest misfortune. His wife, Margaret of Anjou, after long maintaining a desperate contest, with almost unparalleled magnanimity, exposing herself in the field, and performing all the duties of a sovereign, and a general, at last saw herself, deprived of her husband and her son, a prisoner in the hands of her implacable enemy; from which situation she was at last delivered by her brother, the king of France, by the payment of a large ransom. The adventures of Edward were so extraordinary, as to resemble those of romance. He was proclaimed king in London, while the head of his father was still exposed on the walls of York. As to the qualities of his mind, he had great talents and great vices. With regard to his military

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abilities, it is sufficient to say, that in every battle where he commanded in person, he was victorious.

The most glorious circumstance of Edward's reign is the introduction of printing into England, by William Caxton. The state of learning in England, as well as in other countries, required such an invention to facilitate its acquisition and diffusion; if we credit what some authors affirm, that the fifteenth century was, of all others, the most rude and illiterate, and that some bishops could neither write nor read. These extraordinary assertions, however, are extremely suspicious; and indeed, can hardly be reconciled to reasonable credibility. That the commencement of this century was a season of extreme ignorance may be allowed; but towards the middle, or at least the conclusion, it was marked by a great revival of learning, and the appearance of many learned men on the continent; although it must be admitted that, in England, the intestine commotions had been extremely unfavourable to its advancement.

Edward IV. left, by his queen, two sons, of whom the eldest, Edward V. was about thirteen at the period of his father's decease. The duke of Gloucester, their uncle, procured the exclusion of the children of Edward from the succession, and himself to be placed on the throne; having first had the precaution to put to death all the nobles who appeared likely to oppose his ambition. Whether the young king and his brother were murdered by his direction in the tower, as generally asserted by historians, is a problem, which, at this distance of time, admits of no certain solution. The odium however, of this real or supposed murder, was extremely prejudicial to Richard, and created a strong feeling against him in the minds of his subjects. In the meanwhile Henry, earl of Richmond, sole representative of the house of Lancaster, then an exile in France, carried on a secret correspondence with the friends of Edward IV. and proposing to marry his daughter, was at last encouraged to invade England with only 2,000 foreign troops. These being joined by about 7,000 English and Welch, and Richard approaching at the head of near

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15,000 men, a battle was fought at Bosworth, near Leicester, in which that usurper, after displaying extraordinary acts of personal valour, was left dead on the field.

This battle terminated the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, which had cost the lives of above 100,000 Englishmen; caused the extinction of a great number of noble families; and almost extirpated the posterity of Edward III. It being thus happily ended, Henry was immediately proclaimed king by the victorious army, and his election was soon after confirmed by the parliament.

Henry VII. having ascended the throne, A. D. 1485, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. and united the rival houses of York and Lancaster. His reign, however, was continually disturbed by plots and rebellions. One Lambert Simnel assumed the name and character of the earl of Warwick, and Perkin Warbeck personated the duke of York, second son of Edward IV. and claimed the throne. The validity of their pretensions will ever remain a historical problem. The most probable opinion is, that they were instruments of deep laid design. But nothing is certain, except that they gave Henry serious alarm, and endangered his throne; and that Perkin, having been captured, was confined in the tower, and being taken while endeavouring to escape along with the young earl of Warwick, the latter was beheaded, and the former terminated on the gibbet, his singular career.

The most important and memorable event of Henry's reign, if we consider its consequences to posterity, was the act of parliament of 1492, which gave liberty to the barons, and all other possessors of landed property, to sell or mortgage their estates, without fine or licence from the crown. The great barons were impoverished by their continual commotions, and their extravagant expenses; and monied property, acquired by industry and trade, was chiefly in the hands of commoners. The act was, therefore, agreeable, as well as advantageous to all parties. The wealthier commoners had the opportunity of vesting their money in land, and the nobility had the means of disengaging themselves from incumbrances, and of living in greater splendour, and repose. Landed property

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passed from one hand to another, without the transfer of those dangerous privileges, which had often been so fatal to the happiness of their possessors, as well as to the safety of the sovereign, and the tranquillity of the nation. The baronial powers were gradually weakened, and the subsequent increase of commerce, together with its natural consequence, the influx of wealth, effected an important change in the feudal system. During the space of some centuries, the course of events had been preparatory to this change. The crusades had, throughout all Europe, contributed to carry off numbers of turbulent spirits, and to strengthen the power of sovereigns; while they tended to introduce into the western countries a variety of arts, with more extensive views of geography and commerce. In England especially, the civil wars had exceedingly contributed to facilitate the introduction of a new order of things. Great numbers of the nobility had been swept away by the sword; multitudes ruined by confiscations; and many great families became extinct. After the reign of Edward IV. few traces are found of those feudal powers, so formidable to the crown; although the people were not yet in a state of complete emancipation.

Henry VII. employed all the means of raising money, that policy could suggest, and his two ministers, Empsom and Dudley, extorted great sums from the people. At his death, he was possessed of 1,800,000*l.* or 2,700,000*l.* of modern money; an enormous sum at that period, when the mines of America were scarcely begun to be wrought. His parsimonious prudence, indeed, was the reason why the riches of the western continent were not his own; for Columbus applied to him for his patronage in the enterprise which he meditated, and sent his brother to London for that purpose. What would have been the consequences had Henry adopted the proposal, or what the present condition of England, had the possession of Mexico and Peru fallen to her share, it is impossible to conjecture. A plan of so hazardous a nature, where the expense was certain, and the profits doubtful, was ill suited to the wary disposition of this monarch; but the encouragement of Cabot, a Venetian, who, in 1498, discover-

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ed the main land of North America, was some reparation of a fault, the result of contracted views and short sighted policy.

Pilgrimages were much in vogue in the fifteenth century. In A. D. 1428, licences were granted to captains of vessels to carry out 916 persons, of whom 200 went from London, and the shrine of St. James de Compostella, at that time the fashionable resort, was the object of their visit. Five hundred and twenty persons went on the same errand, A. D. 1433; and the year following, no fewer than 2,460: in the year 1445, licences were granted to 2,100. The mode was to licence the masters of ships to carry out a certain number of pilgrims, who were obliged to take an oath not to do any thing prejudicial to England, nor to carry with them more gold or silver than was necessary for their reasonable expenses. This, however, would be no inconsiderable quantity, as many of the pilgrims were persons of distinction. The expenditure of those from England was, perhaps, more than compensated to the English nation, by the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which constantly drew a far greater number of foreign devotees from all parts of Europe, than ever resorted from England to St. James de Compostella.* These circumstances are curious characteristics of the men and manners of the times.

Henry VII. died in 1509. A consummate prudence was visible in every transaction of his life. Nurtured in the school of experience, and taught by the misfortunes of his predecessors, he had learned every lesson of circumspection. Though his narrow policy, and his averseness to hazardous speculations, deprived him of the glory, and his kingdom of the advantages, resulting from the first discovery of the new world, yet his reign is, upon the whole, one of the most important in the English annals. It was also remarkable for that singular disease called the sweating sickness, which, during the six weeks that it continued, from the middle of September to near the end of October, swept away vast multi-

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1. p. 446 and 455.

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tudes of people. He first established the Guards distinguished by the name of Yeomen.

Henry VIII. succeeded his father, and entered on the exercise of royalty, with all the advantages to be derived from nature or fortune. He was not quite eighteen, his father had given him a liberal education, and he was a considerable proficient in the learning then in vogue, which consisted chiefly of the Aristotelian philosophy, and scholastic divinity. Young, vigorous, and master of a richer treasury than any other prince of Europe, he neglected all these advantages, and dissipated, in ostentatious parade, the immense riches amassed by his father, without performing any thing great or beneficial to the national interest, except the establishment of a royal navy, instead of the naval armaments which, in former reigns, used to be raised by the sea ports. The diminutive size of the French and English vessels, during the preceding centuries, has already been remarked; their increased magnitude, since the discovery of the compass, which caused longer voyages to be undertaken, and more especially since the introduction of artillery into the system of naval warfare, is a curious subject of historical notice. In the year 1512, the memorable epoch from which the commencement of the naval establishment of England may be dated, we find a list of seventeen ships from seventy and upwards, to 500 tons; besides the Regent, the largest vessel, before that time ever built in England, of 1000 tons burden, and manned with 700 men. This attention of Henry to the naval defence of his kingdom, merits the warmest approbation of posterity; and had he shewn an equal concern for the extension of commerce, and the acquisition of colonial possessions, his measures would have been complete. But his vanity engaged him too much in continental affairs, and he neglected to improve Cabot's discoveries, and the commercial advantages which a new world presented to the spirit of maritime enterprize; and suffered both the East and West Indies to be seized upon by Portugal and Spain. He was constantly employed in wars, or negotiations, on the continent, and generally duped by all parties. His conduct, in all these affairs, was directed by Wolsey's views

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of advancement to the papal throne. But, after having long made the king the tool of his ambition, this minister was at last disappointed; and, instead of reigning at Rome, was stripped of his immense possessions in England.

Henry was an instrument in the hand of Divine Providence for the annihilation of the exhorbitant power of the papal see; but he cannot be considered as a meritorious agent in the reformation. During part of his reign, he was the champion of the popes, and the great asserter of their authority. About the year 1521, he wrote a book "On the Seven Sacraments," against Luther, by which he obtained the title of Defender of the Faith. In this work he displayed all his theological learning. Leo X. spoke of it in the highest terms of applause, and pronounced it equal to the works of St. Jerome or St. Augustine. Indeed, whatever might be the merits of the composition, the subject alone was sufficient to insure his approbation, and it was not surprising that a book, written by a great king, in support of papal authority, should be highly extolled by a pope. Though Henry afterwards rejected the supremacy of the see of Rome, he continued, to the end of his life, the implacable enemy of the reformation. Infatuated by vanity, and accustomed to entertain the most exalted opinion of his own wisdom and learning, he considered *his* judgment, as the standard of right and wrong. Expecting his subjects to go as far as himself in matters of faith, and no farther, he indiscriminately condemned Protestants and Catholics to the flames; the former, for believing too little, and the latter too much; and, in all his religious arrangements, proved himself a bigot, and a tyrant.

He divorced his queen Catherine, who had been the wife to his brother Prince Arthur; but whether from scruples of conscience, or love for Anne Boleyn, is not easy to determine. After his separation from the queen, he espoused Anne Boleyn, but his attachment to the latter was not of long continuance; upon a slight suspicion of her constancy, he caused her to undergo a mock trial, and put her to death. His marriage with lady Jane Seymour, the very next day after the execution of the object of his former desires, manifested a heart devoid

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of feeling. Queen Jane, dying in child-bed of Edward VI. he married a fourth wife, Anne, sister to the Duke of Cleves. Being dissatisfied, he obtained a divorce, and dismissed her, with a pension of 3000*l.* per annum. Catharine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk, was next advanced to the royal bed, which, to her, proved a step to the scaffold. She suffered, shortly after, on a charge of incontinence; but whether true or false, the arbitrary mode of proceeding, on these occasions, during this reign, renders it impossible to ascertain. His sixth, and last wife, was Catherine Parr, who, by her dexterity in managing his temper, had the good fortune to survive him; after having narrowly escaped being brought to the stake, on suspicion of favouring the reformation. During this sanguinary reign, much of the noblest and best blood of England was shed on the scaffold.

Henry VIII. died A. D. 1547. He was a generous encourager of literature and the arts; but the benefits accruing to the kingdom, from his reign, were owing rather to the remote consequences, than to the immediate effects of his measures. Of these scarcely any, except his encouragement of learning; the incorporation of Wales with England; and his attention to the royal navy, seem to indicate any truly patriotic design. With regard to the reformation, it would be a violation of truth to ascribe to him any merit. He never deviated one tittle from any essential article of the church of Rome; except his denial of the papal supremacy; and he persecuted, with implacable fury, the followers of the new religion. His quarrel with the pope was entirely personal. In rejecting the papal infallibility, he established his own; and his subjects, in being freed from the control of the Roman pontiff, were subjected to a power at home still more imperious and dangerous. If the reformation had proceeded no farther than he advanced, or intended to advance it, England would have been still catholic. One of the great benefits resulting from this religious revolution, is the enfranchisement of the human mind, from the shackles of spiritual despotism; but, under Henry's system, freedom of thought was the high road to the gibbet or the stake.

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Notwithstanding the despotism of this reign, manufactures and commerce gradually increased; and the suburbs of London were embellished and extended.

The suppression of the monasteries, and the seizure of their property by Henry, brought a great portion of the national wealth into circulation; and conduced to the interests of commerce, and the consequent prosperity of the kingdom.

At the establishment of Christianity, monastic institutions were of great utility in propagating its doctrines. Amidst the uncivilized ignorance of the Gothic ages, the monks were the preservers of the remains of ancient learning; and, indeed, most of the learned men of those unpropitious times, arose among the religious orders, who, by their sequestration from the world, obtained leisure for literary pursuits, while the public veneration afforded them security. During several ages, they had also been the principal promoters of agriculture, and, in England, had essentially contributed to the draining and cultivation of the fens, and other waste grounds. They had also been equally serviceable to travellers; as, during many centuries, the monasteries were the only places, which afforded lodging and entertainment. The neighbouring poor also found a supply for their necessities from their plentiful kitchens. In the sixteenth century, when commerce began to increase, and wealth to be diffused; when the introduction of printing had facilitated the acquisition of knowledge; when a multitude of causes were concurring to introduce a new order of things in Europe, monastic institutions began to lose their utility. Since that period, the increased operations of the same causes has rendered these establishments, still less congenial to the state of modern times. Into countries professing the reformed religion they have never been admitted; and in some Roman Catholic countries, they are totally abolished; in others, their numbers have been diminished; and, in all, they have lost great part of that respect and veneration, which piety, superstition, or a sense of their utility, formerly excited.

At no very distant period, their total extinction through-

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out Europe is probable. In their early suppresion, Henry was actuated by personal, rather than patriotic motives; and the advantages accruing to posterity from this, as well as from most of his other measures, seem to be the remote, rather than the direct and necessary consequences of a well conceived plan of enlightened policy.

The reign of Henry VIII., taking place in the first period of general improvement which followed the invention of printing, the discovery of America, &c., is remarkable for the introduction of numerous articles of convenience, or luxury, formerly unknown in England. Pins, apparently a trifling article, were first manufactured in this reign. Muskets, also, were invented about this time, although cannon had been in use from the middle of the fourteenth century.* A variety of exotic fruits and vegetables, now naturalized, were first brought into England. Horticulture received many improvements; and the houses of the nobility began to assume a better appearance.

Edward VI., at only nine years of age, succeeded Henry VIII. A. D. 1547; and his uncle, the earl of Hereford, afterwards Duke of Somerset, a zealous patron of the reformation, was constituted regent. During the short reign of this prince, the great revolution in the religious system of the nation was, by the zeal of Cranmer and other prelates, established. In proportion as the reformers acquired power, they imbibed the spirit of persecution; adopted the maxims of Rome, and employed fire and faggot when argument failed. Joan Boucher, an English woman, convicted of adhering to the opinions of the German anabaptists was, at archbishop Cranmer's instigation, sentenced to the flames. A Dutchman was also burnt, two years subsequent, on the same account. He was a man of exemplary piety, and suffered with perfect composure.

The king having fallen into a consumption, which precluded all hopes of recovery, the Duke of Northumberland had the address to procure the marriage of his fourth son, lord

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 2. p. 45.

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Guilford Dudley, with Jane Grey, who stood next in succession, after the princess Elizabeth. His next step was to induce the dying king to exclude the two princesses, his sisters; and to nominate the lady Jane his successor. The security of the reformed religion was the argument by which he prevailed upon Edward to make so unconstitutional an arrangement, which proved the ruin of those, whom it was designed to raise to the throne. The death of the king soon followed, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. He was, for his years, a prodigy of genius and learning, and his virtues were equal to his talents. What was transacted amiss by him, during his reign, his tender age excuses. He was a zealous promoter of the reformation, but his zeal was tempered with moderation; and he considered every species of persecution as contrary to the precepts of the gospel. In the affair of the poor woman, already mentioned, who was burned for heresy, he gave unequivocal proofs of the goodness of his heart, and of his abhorrence of persecution. Historians inform us, that he was with the greatest difficulty prevailed upon by Cranmer to sign the warrant for her execution, which he did at last with tears in his eyes, telling the archbishop that, if he did wrong, it was in deference to his authority, and that he should expect *him* to answer for it before God. This celebrated prelate probably recollected these words, when he himself became the object, instead of the agent, of persecution; and was, by a relentless bigot, condemned to the flames to which he himself had so liberally consigned others.

The death of Edward VI. was immediately followed by the exaltation of Jane Grey, whom her father-in-law, the duke of Northumberland, caused to be proclaimed queen; but the bulk of the nation recognizing the rights of the princess Mary, the hopes of the Northumberland party were disappointed. Lady Jane, whose accomplishments and literary attainments, at an early period of life, caused her to be considered as a prodigy, was hurried from the throne to the scaffold; and, in the seventeenth year of her age, met her fate with resignation and firmness. Her melancholy end, as

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well as that of her husband, lord Dudley, excited universal regret; but the execution of the duke himself, whose ambition had been the sole cause of their misfortunes, was viewed without emotion.

Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., and elder sister of Edward VI., being firmly seated on the throne, made the re-establishment of the catholic religion the principal object of her attention. She proceeded in the most cruel and sanguinary manner, and chose for her instruments persons whose hearts were, like her own, steeled against every sentiment of compassion. The bloody Bonner, bishop of London, with the unprincipled Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, were her most active agents in the diabolical business of persecution. Historians disagree in regard to the number of victims immolated during this bigotted and sanguinary reign; but all acknowledge it to have been considerable. Among these, were the pious and venerable bishops Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, with many other persons, eminent for learning and piety. Archbishop Cranmer was also, at last, brought to the stake. The fall of this eminent man, respectable from his high ecclesiastical station, so venerable for his age, his learning, and various accomplishments, shows the instability of fortune, and the fury of persecution. Besides the eminent personages, above-mentioned, numbers of human sacrifices, consisting of victims of all ranks, and both sexes, were, in every part of the kingdom, offered at the shrine of intolerance.* Mary died of a dropsy, A. D. 1558, in the sixth year of her reign.

Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyn, succeeded to the throne, at the age of twenty-five; and although surrounded with the most discouraging circumstances, her prudence enabled her to overcome all difficulties, and rendered her reign one of the most memorable of those recorded in his-

* The descendants of the Rev. John Rodgers, one of these martyrs, are numerous in New England. The circumstances of his martyrdom, with a plain engraving of himself burning at the stake, have been annexed, ever since, to primers, which have been the school books of hundreds of thousands in the United States.

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tory. The first remarkable act of her administration was the re-establishment of the reformed religion, in which she succeeded with a facility that would appear astonishing to any one who had not observed, with attention, the occurrences of the three preceding reigns. Of 9,400 beneficed clergymen, in England, only about 120 refused their assent to the reformation. An accurate observer of the moral world, considering how soon the reformation, established in the reign of Edward VI. was suppressed by Mary; with what facility the religion of the church of Rome was again overturned by Elizabeth; and with what wonderful rapidity the nation passed from one religion to the other; will find himself at a loss to discover, what were the prevailing opinions and sentiments of the people of England, with regard to religious matters. From a variety of circumstances it appears that, during this fluctuating period, the enlightened part of the nation was divided into four classes, consisting of those, who, totally indifferent in regard to religion, took the earliest opportunities of declaring for the system which was likely to prevail; those who were unsettled in opinion; weary of the papal authority, and yet desirous of retaining the greatest part of the doctrines of the Romish church; and those who were conscientiously and zealously attached to the Romish, or to the reformed religion. Those who were sincerely zealous for the complete establishment of either the old or the new system, were the least numerous; and thus, the transition from one religion to the other was comparatively easy.

Philip II. king of Spain, made proposals of marriage to Elizabeth, soon after her accession; but she, not thinking it prudent to excite the enmity of so powerful a monarch, dexterously avoided the match, without extinguishing his hopes, by a positive refusal, until she had thoroughly established herself in her dominions, and assured herself of the affections of her subjects. Philip, baffled in his negotiations, resolved to attempt, by landing a powerful army in England, to annex it to the Spanish dominions. His situation, at the time when he projected this invasion, was such as furnished a variety of motives, not only to induce the undertaking, but to flatter him

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with the hope of success. The preceding year, Drake had destroyed a whole fleet of transports at Cadiz, laden with ammunition and naval stores; he also ravaged his western coast, insulted Lisbon, and took a rich carrack, laden with treasure, and papers of great importance. Cavendish had, also, in the same year, committed great depredations on the Spaniards in the South Sea, having taken nineteen vessels, some of which were richly laden. His prizes were esteemed the richest that had ever been brought into England. Philip, provoked by these hostilities on the part of Elizabeth, harboured a secret and violent desire of revenge. His ambition, and the hopes of extending his empire, were much encouraged by the prosperous state of his affairs; by the conquest of Portugal; the acquisition of the East Indian commerce and settlements; and the yearly importation of vast treasures from America. Besides his highest glory was connected with the most earnest solicitude for the support of orthodoxy, and the extermination of heresy. As the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwark of the Protestants, he hoped, by subduing that princess, to acquire the immortal renown of re-uniting the whole Christian world in the Catholic communion. Above all, his indignation against his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, instigated him to attack the English, by whom they were encouraged and supported. Thus circumstanced, Philip was determined, by one bold effort, to acquire that ascendancy in Europe, to which the present greatness and prosperity of the Spaniards seemed so fully to entitle them; and he, therefore proceeded immediately to the execution of his ambitious project. When his resolution was formed, every part of his extensive empire resounded with the noise of armaments. Measures were taken in all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, for fitting out such a fleet and embarkation, as had never before been equalled in Europe. The military preparations in Flanders, were no less formidable. Troops were collected from all quarters for reinforcing the duke of Parma, and an army of 54,000 men were assembled in the Netherlands, which was kept in readiness to be transported into England, in boats and flat-bottomed vessels, previously prepared

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and conveniently stationed, for that purpose. This celebrated armament, to which the Spaniards had given the name of the invincible armada, commanded by the Duke de Medina Cœli, sailed from the Tagus the 3d June, 1588.

The whole nation was in an alarm at the prospect of a Spanish invasion. Elizabeth, with the heroism of a Boadicea, put herself at the head of her army, professing her firm purpose to lead them herself into the field, and rather to perish in battle, than survive the ruin and slavery of her people. "Let tyrants fear," said she, "I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects. I know I am but a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince in Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms."

The Spanish armada had been but a few days at sea, when a violent storm damaged their ships, and dispersed them in such a manner, that they were unable to rejoin until they reached the Groine, which was appointed for their first place of rendezvous. On their arrival in the channel, they were attacked by the English fleet, commanded by admiral lord Howard, who had under him Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins, the most able seamen of the age. The result was that the Spanish fleet, defeated and harassed for several days, at last anchored off Calais in so shattered a state, that the Prince of Parma would not embark the troops under his command; considering it to be no less than exposing them to certain destruction. The armada, being constantly annoyed by the English, who sent their fire ships among them, and did incredible damage, the Spanish admiral, as well as the prince of Parma, found invasion impracticable. The whole fleet, therefore, steered to the northward, was pursued by the English, and suffered so much from tempests, that the duke of Medina returned to Spain with only sixty, out of a hundred and thirty ships, of which his fleet originally consisted. On this occasion a medal was struck, with this motto, "Afflavit Deus et dissipantur." Philip, as soon as he heard of the disastrous

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event, fell on his knees, and rendering thanks, expressed his joy that the calamity was no greater. The Spanish priests, who had frequently foretold the infallible success of this holy crusade, perplexed to account for the victory which had been gained over the Catholic monarch by excommunicated heretics, at last discovered that all the calamities of the Spaniards had proceeded from their allowing the infidel Moors to live among them. The first English newspaper, entitled the "English Mercurie," was printed during the time of the Spanish armada; the first number, dated the 23d of July, 1588, is still preserved in the British Museum. The Spaniards lost above 10,000 men in this expedition. The event of it inspired the English nation with such confidence, that their fleets, instead of dreading the naval power of Spain, began to carry the war to her own shores, and to attack her maritime provinces in every part of the globe.

It is impossible to form any conjecture with regard to the extent of the danger to which England would have been exposed, if the Spaniards had made good their landing, with the whole force which they intended to bring into the field. The Spanish army could not have consisted of more than 50,000 men. This number does not appear sufficient to have accomplished the conquest of England. It is, however, well known, that the queen and her council were under no small apprehension of the event. The most judicious as well as vigorous measures were adopted, for the defence of the kingdom; but it does not appear that the whole national force exceeded 90,000 men, which was about double that of the enemy.* But it must be considered that the Spanish troops, especially those in the low countries under the prince of Parma, were all veterans, and universally acknowledged to be the best soldiers in Europe, and that prince the most accomplished general. Her majesty's council therefore, wisely considering the dangerous consequences that might result from hazarding the fate of the kingdom, on the doubtful event of a battle, gave orders that, wherever the Spaniards might land, every thing of value

* Tindal's Notes on Rapin, vol. ii. p. 135.

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or use should be removed, and the country laid waste, so that they might obtain no provisions, except such as they had brought with them for the expedition. The fears of government were soon dispelled by the spirit of patriotism which seemed to pervade all classes of the people, and the alacrity with which the nation brought forward its resources. The only circumstance which threatened to be fatal to the kingdom, was the naval superiority of Spain; for if the Spaniards had remained masters of the seas, Philip might, and undoubtedly would, have poured army after army into England, until he had accomplished the conquest of the country, or rendered it an entire scene of desolation. The defeat of this tremendous armament ensured not only the immediate, but also the future safety of the island; for the ill success of that expedition gave a mortal wound to the superiority of Spain on the ocean, then so formidable to all Europe; while it laid the foundation of the naval greatness of England.

This was the great crisis of Elizabeth's reign. From this important epoch she rose superior to all difficulties. By a train of skilful negotiations with foreign states, she so regulated the balance of Europe, as to give her liberty to encourage navigation, promote the commerce, and regulate the internal policy of her dominions. The depression of Spain, the increase of the English navy, and the extension of commerce, were the main objects of her politics.

The various changes taking place in the commercial, as well as the political state of Europe, at this period, required a multiplicity of new regulations. Every kind of profit on the loan of money, had, by the church, been invariably condemned as unlawful. Usury, however, which was formerly a term of the same import with the present idea of interest, although considered as sinful, was every where practised; and in many cases gave rise to most extravagant extortion. As this was not less prejudicial to the public, than moderate interest is conducive to commercial advantage, the extravagant usury of the Jews, who sometimes extorted thirty, forty, or even fifty per cent. from their debtors, formed always one of the principal complaints of the nation against that people. The

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Jews, however, were long tolerated in England by the Norman princes, whose power over them was considered as absolute. Their lives and fortunes being at the king's disposal, their wealth served as a resource in any extraordinary emergency. They were suffered to fleece the people, and the government fleeced them at its pleasure. The first law in England authorising the taking of interest, was enacted in the thirty-seventh Henry VIII. which limited it to ten per cent. This statute, however, was repealed by the reformers of the reign of Edward VI. but in that of Elizabeth, legislators were more enlightened. That princess, superior to the superstitions of former ages, and considering the vast quantities of money or bullion brought into the country by an extended commerce, resolved to remove every impediment to the free circulation of the national wealth. In the thirteenth of her reign, an act was passed reviving that of Henry, allowing interest to be taken, and limiting it to ten per cent.

England was now making rapid strides towards universal commerce. The last day of the seventeenth century was signalized by the formation of the English East India Company. Until that time, the Oriental trade had been in the hands of the Portuguese, who were then subject to Spain. Factories were then established, by the English, in the islands of Amboyna, Sumatra, and Java, as well as in India, China, and Japan. It would be impossible minutely to trace the extension of commerce, or the growth and multiplication of manufactures, in all their varieties and ramifications. Knives were first made in England by Thomas Matthews, of London, about A. D. 1563; and, in 1577, pocket watches were introduced from Germany. The prodigious increase of trade, causing a proportionate influx of money, an unprecedented luxury was introduced. Splendid feasts were also much in fashion, and great improvements were made in the style of building. In remoter times, and particularly those of Henry II. Edward III. and Richard II. the luxury of the great was not less extravagant, than in the reign of Elizabeth. But it was then confined to a narrower circle, and could only be displayed by the prelates, nobles, or a few opulent citizens.

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In the age now under contemplation, wealth began to be more diffused; and luxury, in consequence, more visible among the other classes of society. The condition of the lower orders of the people was still far from being enviable; for the feudal bondage was not entirely abolished. In the year 1574, the queen granted a commission to the lord treasurer, to compound with the bond men and bond women attached to the manors, belonging to the crown; and to grant them freedom for such sums of money as might be agreed on between the parties. The revenues of the crown were, during this reign, augmented to nearly 200,000*l.* per annum; more than three times their amount in that of Henry V. About the year 1580, coaches were first introduced by the earl of Arundel.

As commerce and wealth increased, the suburbs of London were greatly extended, and either through apprehensions excited by the frequent returns of the plague, or some other reason, the queen, by the advice of her council, published a proclamation A. D. 1550, prohibiting the erection of any new buildings within three miles of the gates of the city, and forbidding more than one family to inhabit each house. In 1593, the parliament passed an act of the same import, with an additional clause, prohibiting the inclosure of the common and waste grounds within three miles of London. This last clause seems to indicate, that the prevention of diseases, by keeping up a free circulation of air, was the object of those prohibitions.

In regard to foreign affairs, and to every thing relating to the navigation and commerce of her subjects, the reign of Elizabeth exhibits a masterly system of politics; but she was not friendly to liberty. The examples of her predecessors may be alleged as some excuse for her conduct; but it is certain that she adhered too much to their maxims. In religious matters, her conduct was too much marked with intolerance, and, in this respect, bore too great a resemblance to that of her father and sister, Henry VIII. and Mary. The laws for enforcing conformity, and denying to the puritans liberty of conscience, the birthright of every rational being,

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were the disgrace of her reign, and exhibited the monstrous spectacle of a protestant inquisition.

During her long and prosperous reign, the administration of government insensibly assumed a more regular and settled form. Men began to reason, and to speculate. Though, in many respects, an age of darkness, still it was an age of inquiry; and the thick clouds, which had so long obscured the human faculties, were now visibly dispersing. The essential powers of government could not be exercised, but with the concurrence of the people. They were not, indeed, much in the habit, but still they possessed the power, of making a formidable and effectual resistance to the will of the sovereign. Of this the queen was not unapprized. Amid the jealous and incessant solicitude, which she discovered, to preserve the prerogatives of the crown, and the haughty language which she was prompted, both by pride and policy, occasionally to adopt, may be discerned a secret dread of involving herself in any serious quarrel with her parliaments. When the commons shewed any symptoms of vigour and decision, it was her invariable policy to recede: and so well-timed and gracious were those occasional concessions, that the established authority and reputation of her government were no wise impaired by them. Her great object was to preserve the affections of the people at large; and she never suffered a dispute to continue so long, or to become so serious, as to interest the feelings of the nation in the support of their representatives. She made it justly a subject of boast, in one of her speeches, that she had never parted with a parliament in anger.

Her treatment of the unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots, who had, by the promise of a safe and honourable asylum, been induced to take refuge in her dominions, has greatly tarnished the glory of Elizabeth. It is well known that notwithstanding all her professions of friendship, she detained that unhappy princess eighteen years a prisoner, and then, under a pretence that she aimed at the crown, caused her to be beheaded. One of the best internal regulations of this princess was the system of laws for the relief of the poor.

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These laws were first instituted in her reign, before which period, the infirm and the aged, who were in a state of indigence, had no other resource than the voluntary assistance of the charitable and humane.

It is not difficult to perceive that the successes of Elizabeth's reign, were owing to a favourable combination of circumstances, assisted by her own prudence and great political abilities. The improvement of navigation, the increase of commerce, and the revival of learning, as well as the reformation of religion, had preceded her accession to the throne. These circumstances she turned to the best advantage, and neglected no opportunity, which they presented, for advancing the prosperity of her kingdom. She placed national religion on a more permanent footing than it had been for some time. She encouraged learning, and her court was the most learned in Europe. This celebrated princess died A. D. 1603, in the seventieth year of her age, and was succeeded by James VI., king of Scotland, the son of Mary Stuart. His accession, by putting an end to those frequent wars between the two kingdoms, which had produced so many scenes of desolation and carnage, constitutes an important era in the history of Great Britain. James was not destitute of good natural abilities, but he had formed erroneous notions of the regal office, and conceived too high an opinion of his own dignity, learning, and political knowledge. It was his misfortune to ascend the English throne with a strong impression on his mind, that he had a right to claim those unconstitutional powers, which Elizabeth and her predecessors had occasionally exercised, and which a variety of causes had prevented the people from opposing. In the long and destructive contest between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, most of the ancient nobility were cut off, and the people were disposed to suffer much, rather than involve themselves in the horrors of civil war. Thus the whole nation, during the reigns of the Tudor family, was inclined to a kind of passive submission, and too readily acquiested in those arbitrary measures, by which the administrations of Henry VIII. Mary, and Elizabeth, were distinguish-

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ed. The glory of Elizabeth's reign, in particular, had thrown a splendid veil over her despotism, and rendered her the idol of the nation. The advancement of knowledge and learning, during her administration, had tended to generate enlarged notions and liberal sentiments; while the extension of trade had produced a vast increase of property. The English, therefore, at the end of her reign, were not the same people, as at its commencement. To make a just estimate of the change of national circumstances, and consequently of national character, little more is requisite than to contrast the two periods, at which Henry VIII. and James ascended the throne. In the former we see a nobility exhausted, depressed, and impoverished by civil wars; illustrious families extinguished; confiscations multiplied; a commonalty yet in a a state of villainage and indigence; and the nation in a situation most favourable for the establishment of arbitrary power: in the latter, we contemplate a people enriched by commerce; enlightened by science; and beginning to enjoy some degree of liberty. James seems not to have duly considered the change which had already taken place in the minds and conditions of men, nor to have possessed that dexterous facility of accommodating his measures to circumstances. His pacific reign does not abound with many great political events. The fate of the brave and learned Sir Walter Raleigh, sacrificed to the interests and influence of Spain, is of all other events of his reign, that which reflects the greatest disgrace on his memory.

James's system of finance consisted, principally, in devising methods of raising money by monopolies, and other unconstitutional methods. He was continually jarring with his parliament, on whom he could not prevail to furnish money to supply his demands; and from these contests originated the two parties, afterwards known by the names of Tories and Whigs; the former for the court, and the latter for the people. In the house of lords, the Tories had the preponderancy; but the popular party was the strongest among the commons. One incessantly laboured to enlarge, the other to retrench the royal prerogative; and both went too far in their views and

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their efforts. The parties, which were formed in this reign, produced all the calamities of the next; and that spirit of disaffection, which the conduct of this prince was too well calculated to excite, burst out with all its virulence, under the government of his son and successor.

Certain indications appeared very early after the accession of the Scottish monarch, that new maxims of government were adopted. In the very first parliament, summoned by James, he scrupled not to assert that he was an absolute king; and that all their privileges were derived from his grant. His extravagant ideas of the nature of the kingly office, displayed themselves in supposing that, at his accession, peace was *ipso facto* restored between the English and Spanish monarchies, merely because amity subsisted between himself and the king of Spain, previous to that event. The same absurdity of intellect, operating upon the same loftiness of disposition, led him to confound the union of the two crowns, with a union of the two nations; for he maintained, that his subjects, born in either kingdom, after his accession, were, of consequence, naturalized in both. He openly asserted it to be sedition in subjects, to dispute what a king might do in the height of his power.

A parliament was summoned by him in 1613; but he dissolved it, in great wrath, after a very short session, on account of the apparent disposition of the house of commons to restrain certain abuses of the prerogative. After which he continued to govern for some years without parliaments; when being reduced, by his imprudent prodigality, to extreme distress, he was constrained to call one, A. D. 1621. A violent rupture soon ensued, in consequence of a remonstrance, which the house had the boldness to present to the king, respecting the business of the palatinate, and the negotiation there carrying on for the marriage of the prince of Wales, with the Spanish infanta. The indignation of James, at this unexpected, and unwelcome interference, knew no bounds. He reprimanded the house with great vehemence and acrimony, for presuming to debate on things so far above their reach and capacity. He absolutely forbade them from meddling with these

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deep matters of state; contemptuously applying to them the vulgar proverb, "Ne sutor ultra crepidam." He condescended, however, to assure them, that though their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of the sovereign, yet so long as they kept themselves within the limits of their duty, he should maintain them inviolate. The commons immediately voted that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and immunities of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England. The king, on receiving this information, sent for the journals of the commons, and, with his own hand, tore out this resolution of the house; and not choosing to venture another meeting, after this outrage, he immediately dissolved the parliament. Several of the most popular members were afterwards committed to prison, and a proclamation was issued, absolutely prohibiting all discourse concerning these extraordinary proceedings. Two years after this, the king, pressed by his necessities, once more issued a summons for a new parliament. In his speech, at the opening of the session, he so far descended from his former loftiness, as to state to the house his causes of complaint against the Spanish court; and to ask their advice respecting the disposal of his son in marriage—that identical point, which he had forbid the last parliament, in the most peremptory manner, to presume to make the subject of their deliberations. He also voluntarily offered, that the money, voted for the purpose of carrying on the proposed war against Spain, should be paid to a committee of parliament, and entrusted entirely to their direction and management. He had now sufficiently shown his weakness and timidity; and it required but little sagacity to see the great augmentation of authority and influence, which must accrue to parliament from such conduct. In this state of things the king died, and the sceptre devolved to his son Charles.

The reign of James I. is remarkable for the great abundance of theological contests which it produced; and in these disputes with ecclesiastical casuists, the monarch sometimes distinguished himself in a manner which excited, among his contemporaries, a high opinion of his polemical abilities.

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He certainly possessed a very considerable stock of learning, and his Treatise on Demonologia was, in that age, held in great estimation; but a modern reader will not, from its perusal, form a very exalted opinion of his philosophy.

In his time, the navigation and commerce of England continued to increase; and his administration contributed to the solid advantage of the nation. Colonies were, in his reign, first established in America. James, without intending it, laid, in the woods of America, the foundation of a system of government, more favourable to civil and religious liberty, than the world ever before exhibited; and of a flourishing nation, which, in less than two centuries, was the second commercial power on the face of the globe.

One of the most beneficial projects, planned and executed in this reign, was the conveyance of water, from the vicinity of Ware, to London, by the New River; a work of incalculable utility to the metropolis, and suitable to the grandeur and wealth of ancient Rome, when in the zenith of its glory. It was, according to our best historians, about the year 1625, and the last of this reign, that hackney coaches first began to ply in the streets of London. James died, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after having reigned over England twenty-two years.

Charles I. succeeded his father under a combination of unfavourable circumstances. The parties, which had been gradually acquiring strength, were ripened into maturity; and now began to throw off every disguise. The factious spirits of that time considered every procedure of government as an act of tyranny. Many of Charles's proceedings savored too much of despotism: he laid arbitrary impositions on trade, which many of the merchants, members of the House of Commons, refused to pay; and the House itself protested against those proceedings. The king dissolved the parliament, and afterwards imprisoned some of its members. On the other hand, a revolutionary spirit pervaded the nation. Religious fanaticism combined, with political insubordination, to spread its baleful influence over the minds of the people, and eventually

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to convulse the state. Charles presuming on the precedents of former reigns, when circumstances were totally different, adopted maxims not suited to the new state of affairs. The arbitrary maxims and speculations of the father, were, by the son, fatally for himself, reduced to practise, and pervaded every department of the government. Mr. Hume himself is compelled to acknowledge that, in numerous instances, the laws of the land were openly and notoriously violated. "Liberty was totally subverted, and an arbitrary and despotic authority exercised over the kingdom." The whole tenour of his conduct evinced, that the great spring of all his actions was an eager and intemperate desire to emancipate himself from every species of control; and he ventured to pursue his dangerous projects, at a time when the weak and arbitrary conduct of his father had occasioned the principles of government to be more canvassed, and better understood, and all ranks of people were making daily accessions of power and consequence, as well as knowledge. His government grew every day more unpopular. To complete his misfortunes, he suffered himself to be directed by the counsels of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, who advised him to persecute the puritans, and introduce episcopacy into Scotland. On this, the Scots, having formed secret connexions with the disaffected English, levied an army in August, A. D. 1640, and invaded England. In this war the king was so ill served, that he found himself obliged to agree to an inglorious peace with his subjects, who, having made themselves masters of Newcastle and Durham, forced him to comply with all their demands. A rebellion broke out also the next year, in Ireland, where the Protestants, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, were made the subjects of a general massacre; and the malcontents of England took great pains to fix on Charles, the improbable imputation of favouring the rebels, and encouraging those barbarities.

Charles hastened the approach of his misfortunes, by the rash measure of going, in person, to the House of Commons, and demanding that lord Kimbolton, sir Arthur Haselrig, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hollis, and Mr. Shroud

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should be apprehended; but these members, being previously apprised of his intention, had made their escape. This act of the king was considered as high treason against the people; and the Commons being determined on an open rupture, rejected every offer of satisfaction. Things were now drawing to a crisis; Charles departed to the north, and, resolving to have recourse to arms, erected the royal standard at Nottingham, where he was joined by many of the nobility and gentry of the neighbouring country; and soon saw himself at the head of a numerous army, of which he conferred the command on the earl of Lindsey. A great part of the landed interest adhered to the royal cause. The parliament, on the other hand, were favoured by most of the trading towns; but its principal resources lay in London, where men and money were raised with astonishing rapidity. The pulpits of the metropolis resounded with inflammatory sermons; and preachers were found to be the best recruiters for the army of the parliament. At the commencement of the war, the royalists had the ascendancy, and the earl of Essex being made general for the parliament, the first battle was fought at Edgehill, in Warwickshire, October 23d, 1642, in which, although both parties claimed the victory, the advantage was evidently on the king's side. The best judges of military operations, and those who had the most perfect knowledge of circumstances, at that period, are decidedly of opinion, that Charles was guilty of a fatal error in not immediately advancing to London, after this action; and that, by adopting so decisive a measure, he might have at once ended the war. The presbyterian party had hitherto predominated in the parliament, which continued its sittings at Westminster; but the independents now began to make a figure, and to gain the ascendancy. At the head of this party was the famous Oliver Cromwell.*

* Disputes about religion had a great agency in promoting the civil contests of this period. In 1643, an assembly of divines was summoned, by an ordinance of parliament, to meet at Westminster, for settling the government and liturgy of the church of England. This assembly consisted of 121 divines, and 30 laymen, celebrated for piety and learning. By their advice, alterations were made in the 39 articles. The alterations

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The war continuing with great animosity, two battles were fought near Newbury, one 20th September, 1643, and the other 27th October, 1644. In both the advantage inclined to the side of the royalists. The king was also successful in many other of his operations. The kingdom was in a deplorable situation: some counties, towns, and families, declared for the parliament, and others for the king; and the principal places in the kingdom were, alternately, conquered, and frequently plundered, by the contending armies. Except the metropolis, the great source of parliamentary strength, the whole kingdom exhibited a scene of anarchy; and as counties and towns, in the same vicinity, were frequently in the hands of opposite parties, the hostile garrisons ravaged, in a merciless manner, the surrounding country. The royalist garrison, at Newark, plundered the country as far as to the gates of Lincoln and Nottingham; while the troops in the service of the parliament, who were masters of the two latter places, extended their ravages throughout their respective neighbourhoods. In various other parts, similar scenes were displayed, as the theatre of war was not confined to a particular district; its horrors extended throughout the whole kingdom. This partial exhibition will give a just idea of the miseries of the people, at this calamitous period, and teach posterity to deprecate the evils of civil war, and to set a just value on political union, and internal tranquillity.

agreed upon, chiefly respected doctrinal articles, and were designed to render their sense more determinate in favour of Calvinism. They also set aside the liturgy, and, in its stead, established a new directory for worship, by which prayers, without prescribed forms, were recommended. This assembly sat above five years; during which time they had 1163 sessions. Their principal works were, a Directory for Public Worship; a Confession of Faith; a Larger and Shorter Catechism. These have, ever since, been of standard authority among presbyterians in Scotland, the north of Ireland, the United States of America, and also among the congregationalists in New England; and are very generally used, particularly the Shorter Catechism, in the instruction of their children. Nothing written during this time of civil and religious contest, has had such an extensive and permanent circulation, as this concentrated system of theology, contained in short answers to 107 questions.

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The war had continued two years, and the royalists had, in general, been successful. From the best computations, Charles had no fewer than 200,000 men in the field, in his different armies, and as the forces of the parliament could not be greatly inferior, England, at this momentous crisis, displayed the horrible spectacle of from 300,000 to 400,000 of her sons employed in butchering one another.

The first fatal blow which the king's army received, was at Marston Moor, July 2, A. D. 1644, where, through the imprudence of prince Rupert, the royal army was defeated, with the loss of 4,000 killed, and 1500 prisoners. A treaty was, after this, set on foot at Uxbridge; but came to nothing. The rigid adherence of Charles to those maxims, which had so greatly contributed to plunge him into difficulties, was no small impediment to the success of the negotiations. His grand misfortune, during the whole course of his war, seems to have been the over-ruling power of counsellors, who were unwilling to make any concessions; and yet never took any decisive measures to terminate the contest by arms. A strange irresolution, at that time, prevailed in the councils of the king.

After the failure of the negotiations of Uxbridge, the king's affairs grew daily more desperate. Having lost the greatest part of his towns and fortresses, he received, at the decisive battle of Naseby, June 14, 1645, the fatal blow, which extinguished all his hopes of success. The Scotch army, which the parliament had called in to their assistance, was then besieging Newark. Charles perceived that his most loyal adherents, seeing his case to be desperate, began to think it prudent to make their peace; he, therefore, found it necessary to take some measures for his own safety. In this critical state of his affairs, he adopted the fatal expedient of taking refuge with the Scots, and delivered himself up to the army before Newark. The Scots, not suspecting the tragical consequences that were to ensue, put the king's person into the hands of commissioners, sent from London for the purpose of taking him into their charge. In consequence of this treaty between

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the Scots and the parliament of England, the former received the sum of 400,000*l.* which was due to them for arrears.

The political life of Charles may here be said to terminate; for, after this time, he was no longer an actor on the public theatre; but a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, by whom his fate was already determined. The remainder of the tragedy is too well known. The ruling party rejected every idea of negotiation with their royal prisoner. Having, therefore, erected a court of justice, the king, after an extraordinary trial, of which history had not then afforded any precedent, was condemned to be beheaded. The sentence was executed before his palace at Whitehall, on the thirtieth of January, 1649. Thus fell Charles I. in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He died with the fortitude of a hero, and the resignation of a Christian.

Charles was endowed with many virtues and noble qualities. He was pious and temperate, a good husband, father, and master. In regard to literature, his attainments were considerable; and his skill in the liberal arts was far above mediocrity. His principal error seems to have consisted in making a wrong estimate of the political ideas of the people, whom he had to govern. It was only by a dexterous accommodation of his measures to existing circumstances, that the parties which had, during his father's reign, been growing to maturity, could have been successfully managed.

The parties which convulsed the state, and brought Charles to the scaffold, did not expire with him; but continued to exist, in the succeeding reigns, with a mutual and unabated animosity. All the writers of those times being evidently prejudiced, in favour either of the royal or the republican cause, no impartial history of this reign can be found. The excessive commendations, which some have bestowed on this monarch, and the extravagant calumnies with which others have endeavoured to blacken his reputation, are equally to be suspected. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, by his extravagant attachment to trifling minutiæ, and a variety of other non-essentials, seemed to regard them as the constituents of

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religion; while the puritans condemned things merely indifferent, as sinful, idolatrous, and damnable. Thus both parties made the worship of the Deity to consist, in the admission or exclusion of certain ceremonial forms, and hierarchal regulations. The archbishop's intolerance of all opinions, which differed from his own, brought him to the scaffold; and the puritans, to shew that they were not behind him in bigotry, enacted, on the very day of his execution, an ordinance for the abolition of the liturgy of the church of England.

Such was the all-powerful effect of the various discoveries made since the time of Columbus, and of the spirit of mercantile enterprize, which the extension of geographical and nautical knowledge had excited, that the trade of England still continued to increase, amidst political contentions. Before the commencement of the civil war, the suburbs of London were every where extended, especially westward, and a great extent of ground was covered with new foundations. Notwithstanding the interruptions which six years of civil war must have occasioned, the parliament had raised, between the years 1641 and 1647, upwards of 40,000,000 sterling, for carrying on the war, besides what the king had levied in the counties, where his interest predominated.* The distribution of the wealth of Peru and Mexico, was now beginning to produce a visible effect in all the commercial countries of Europe.

The commonwealth being now established on principles purely democratical, the parliament omitted no measure, that appeared conducive to the perpetual exclusion of regal power. The house of peers being abolished, the parliament, which had consisted of 120 lords, and 513 commons, was reduced to about eighty democratical members. Nothing less than the terror inspired by an army, could have overawed the people into submission to such usurpation, or have established a power, so extraordinary, in the hands of so small a number of persons.† This skeleton of a parliament pretended to re-

* And. Hist. Comm. vol. 2. p. 389, and 391.
† Clarendon, vol. 3, p. 201, and 203.

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present the people of England, who had never been consulted; and it is certain, that few persons in the kingdom, were pleased to see the sovereign authority placed in the hands of such representatives. The republican government was consequently a bare-faced usurpation; and equally subversive of the rights of the sovereign, and those of the people. Among these new governors, there were some men of great political abilities. Their assiduity, in conducting public affairs, was great; and their exertions for augmenting the naval strength of England were wonderfully successful. By cutting down the timber on the royal domains, they constructed a fleet, superior to any that had yet been seen on the ocean.

Cromwell being constituted general of the parliamentary army, was completely successful in reducing both Ireland and Scotland to obedience. The prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. having been proclaimed king by the Scotch, entered England with an army, which, instead of being augmented, was found, on his arrival at Worcester, to be reduced by desertion, to twelve or thirteen thousand men, and being there attacked by Cromwell, with a force greatly superior, was totally defeated, with the loss of almost all his infantry, and a great part of his cavalry. The reduction of Scotland being, soon after, completed by general Monk, the new republic acquired so great a reputation, that all the states of Europe, either courted its friendship, or dreaded its enmity. The victory at Worcester, as it raised the credit and power of Cromwell to an exorbitant height, reduced the prince to the greatest distress, and rendered his affairs irretrievable. Having been so fortunate as to make his escape from the battle, amidst the general dispersion of his troops, he found himself in the heart of England, which to him, was a hostile country, and exposed to the vigilant search of enemies, from whom he could expect no mercy. To reach Scotland was, in his circumstances, impossible, considering the vigorous search which he knew would be made on that road; and even there, he could not have found a secure asylum. He was, therefore, under the necessity of making his escape to the continent, which also seemed impracticable. He took the resolution of

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travelling as far as possible the first night. His next step was to dismiss all his attendants, who would only have served to render him more discoverable, and to put himself under the direction of a trusty guide, by whom he was conducted through by-roads, in the disguise of a peasant. One whole day he concealed himself in the top of a tree, which grew in the thickest part of a wood, not far from the road on the borders of Staffordshire. From this station, he could see on the road, persons passing who were in search of him, and hear their discourse of which he was the subject.* He made it an invariable rule, to travel in the night, and to conceal himself by various methods in the day. His chief diet was a little bread and milk, procured from the farmers or cottagers. At last, after having traversed a considerable part of the kingdom through by-roads and circuitous turnings, in every direction, he reached Brighthelmstone, in Sussex, where he embarked in a small fishing vessel, and on the 22d. October, A. D. 1651, arrived safely in Normandy, after two months spent in a series of fatigues and dangers, of escapes and adventures, that might constitute the subject of a romance.

The credit and glory of Cromwell had in the mean time, risen to the highest pitch. He was master of the armies of the republic, and consequently of the resolutions of the parliament. A project was now formed, which could not fail of meeting with his approbation. This was an alliance, or rather a union, with the republic of the United Provinces. For this purpose, in the year 1651, ambassadors were sent to the Hague, to negotiate not barely an alliance, but such a union, as might consolidate Great Britain, and the United Provinces into one commonwealth. This proposal was rejected by the states; and the parliament of England, considering them as inclined to favour the royal cause, resolved on a rupture. Cromwell readily gave his consent to the designs of humbling Holland, the only power that was considered as formidable to the English commonwealth. This system of politics gave rise to the famous navigation act; which was a fatal blow to

* Clarendon, vol. 3. p. 320.

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the maritime strength of the United States. The substance of this act, one of the most remarkable in the British annals, was "That no merchandize either of Asia, Africa, or America, including the English plantations, shall be imported into England, in any but Engish built ships, belonging to English subjects, and navigated also by an English captain, and three fourths of the sailors Englishmen; excepting, however, such merchandize, as shall be imported directly from the place of its growth or manufacture, in Europe solely. Moreover no fish shall be imported into England or Ireland, nor exported from thence, nor even from one of the English ports to another, but what shall be caught by English fishermen only." The English merchants for several years past, had usually freighted the Dutch ships for bringing home their merchandize, because the freight was lower than that of the English vessels. They even made use of them for importing the produce of the English colonies; while their own shipping lay rotting in the harbours, and their mariners for want of employment, at home went into the service of the Hollanders. By this act, therefore, all trade between England and Holland was destroyed, as it consisted at that time, almost wholly in freightage. Whatever might be the original views of those who framed this act, it must be considered as the foundation of the maritime greatness of England. It was, in a great measure, the occasion of the first famous naval war, between the two most potent republics which the world had ever since those of Carthage and Rome.

The Dutch immediately sent an embassy to London, to solicit the revocation of an act so hostile to their interests. The ambassadors were received with marks of respect; but their expostulations were answered by demands, which convinced them that the parliament had already resolved on a rupture. The States, therefore, immediately equipped a fleet of 150 sail; and their admiral Martin Van Tromp, one of the bravest and most skilful naval commanders in Europe, appeared in the channel with forty-five ships of war. Hostilities being commenced, were carried on with great animosity, as well as extraordinary vigour; and the two contending republics made

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such tremendous efforts, as astonished all Europe. In the space of little more than a year, seven bloody naval engagements took place; in the last of which the Dutch suffered an irreparable loss, in the death of their brave admiral Van Tromp.

In this war between the two republics, Blake,* Monk, and the other English admirals, carried the terror and the glory of the English name to every quarter of the globe; while Cromwell, at home, was aiming at the sovereign authority, to which he at last, after a variety of political manœuvres, attained. On the 16th December, 1653, he was, by the military council, declared Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Thus Oliver Cromwell, a private gentleman of Huntingdon, whose birth seemed to have placed him at an infinite distance from sovereignty, was, by a series of favourable contingencies, at last invested with the supreme power. Among the first acts of his newly acquired authority, was the conclusion of a peace with the Dutch, upon terms advantageous to England; and thus ended a war extremely destructive to both nations.

One of the distinguishing features of the protector's administration, was his project of humbling Spain; in which he was not unsuccessful. For this purpose, he entered into an alliance with France. In the reign of Philip II., the exorbitant power of Spain was formidable to all Europe, and its reduction was a favourite maxim, both of French and English politics. Admiral Venables miscarried in his attempt on St. Domingo, but seized on Jamaica; which has ever since remained in the possession of the English.† Dunkirk also being taken from the Spaniards, by the combined French and English army, under Marshal Turenne, was, according to the treaty of alliance, put into the hands of Cromwell. The acquisition of so important a place, which was considered as

* Admiral Blake was the founder of a worthy and respectable family, in South Carolina.

† Demands on government, resulting from the capture of Jamaica, were satisfied by a grant of American territory to admiral Penn, who assisted in the reduction of Jamaica. The flourishing state of Pennsylvania emanated from this source.

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more than equivalent for Calais, gave no small lustre to the Protector's administration, but did not free him from the continual apprehension of plots and conspiracies; he received repeated information of designs, formed by some of his former most zealous adherents, to take him off by assassination. Those admonitions, joined to a consciousness of being hated by all parties, induced him to use extraordinary precautions against the dangers with which he was threatened. He took care not to sleep two nights successively in the same chamber, nor to appear in public without a strong guard. From this dread of assassination, he was at last freed by a tertian ague, which removed him from the troubles of this life on the 3d of September, A. D. 1658, in the sixtieth year of his age.

It is difficult to give a just account of this extraordinary man. The conduct of Cromwell was so much determined by circumstances, so extremely complicated, and constantly varying, as to cause him to wear a perpetual disguise, and sedulously to conceal his motives of action. Placed in an elevated situation, amidst the clashings of opposite parties, he found it necessary to keep, as much as possible, on fair terms with all; and from this necessity might, probably, arise that profound dissimulation, with which his character is universally branded. Cromwell did not, by his usurpation, wrest the sovereign authority from a lawful prince, but from those who themselves were usurpers; and, consequently, he surpassed them not in criminality, but only in policy, or good fortune. His guilt was not greater, but only more successful, than that of the rest of the demagogues, who subverted the constitution of their country. His abilities for government appear to have consisted rather in a prompt sagacity, which enabled him readily to penetrate the designs of others, and to take advantage of present circumstances, than in that political science, which is founded on extensive views of the interests of different nations; his greatest enemies allow that he possessed a considerable share of courage; on the whole, he appears to have been a man of extraordinary exertion, rather than of pre-eminent genius.

The general state of nations is more interesting than the

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intrigues of parties, or the unprincipled measures of tyrants or demagogues. It is, therefore, requisite to take a retrospect of that of Great Britain, rapidly rising to political and commercial grandeur. When we view the great strength of the English commonwealth, from its very first commencement, it appears astonishing: especially when we also consider the expenditure of money, and the effusion of blood, occasioned by a civil war of nine years duration. Those dreadful convulsions and horrible ravages, which almost every part of the country had alternately experienced, must have exceedingly depressed trade and manufactures. But the great loss of men had not lessened the number of inhabitants so much, as to diminish, in any great degree, the strength of the nation. Since the time of queen Elizabeth, the population, as well as the commerce and wealth of the kingdom, was exceedingly augmented. The reigns of James I. and of Charles, although not rendered conspicuous by foreign hostilities, had been eminently conducive to the interests of trade, and to the national prosperity. At the commencement of the civil war, England was in a very flourishing state. During the government of the parliament and the protectorate, the commonwealth had improved in opulence, as well as in power. The interest of money, which had before been reduced from ten to eight, was now fixed at six per cent., a certain sign of increasing wealth. By the increase of trade, and the influx of money, villainage appears to have been, by degrees, nearly worn out; and during the succeeding reign, by the statute for taking away tenures in *capite*, and abolishing the courts of wards and liveries, 12 Car. chap. 24. (the military tenures having been discontinued during the revolution) the remains of the feudal system were, at one blow destroyed.

Nothing, indeed, can be a greater proof of the rapid increase of wealth, than the fact, that during the years 1652 and 1653, the nation was able to bear an extraordinary assessment of 120,000*l.* per month, besides other considerable fixed taxes.* To produce these effects, the liberal and enlightened

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 2. p. 420.

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policy of granting liberty of conscience to all peaceable persons, not only of Christians but Jews, who were now permitted to settle in England for the first time, since their expulsion by Edward I. may be presumed to have greatly contributed.

The manners of the English people had, in those days, taken a peculiar cast. The more refined elegance, which had gradually taken place in the reigns of James I. and Charles, had disappeared, and every thing assumed an air of stiffness and severity. All sports and diversions, all splendid gaiety and extravagant expense, were condemned as sinful, and exploded as unfashionable. The lower classes were industrious and frugal, and persons of every rank affected the appearance of sobriety and regularity.

Richard Cromwell had, by his father, been nominated his successor in the protectorship; but he found himself destitute of those abilities, which were requisite for supporting him in a station so completely surrounded with difficulties. Richard was, without any struggle or opposition, driven from his high dignity into peaceful obscurity, where he probably found more solid satisfaction and happiness, than his father had ever done, in his usurped sovereignty, to which he waded through seas of blood, and which he held amidst numberless difficulties and dangers, troubles and apprehensions. The unsettled state of the republic, divided into factions, and agitated by perpetual changes, at last obliged all classes of people throughout the whole kingdom, to turn their eyes towards their lawful prince, and their former constitution. Notwithstanding this general disposition of the people, a leader was necessary, possessing sufficient abilities, and placed in a station that might enable him to give efficacy to the public will. These requisite qualifications met together in general Monk, a man of military abilities and great penetration, who, being at the head of the army in Scotland, and sagaciously observing the sentiments of the nation, after a great deal of temporising, and a variety of manœuvres, acted a principal part in restoring Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors: for which signal service, he was created duke of Albermarle, confirmed in command of the army, and loaded with honour and riches.

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Thus after the termination of a civil war, honestly commenced to define the limits of prerogatives, the English nation restored their exiled sovereign, without stipulating for the security of any one of those rights for which they had freely shed their blood. Their descendants in America, taught by the consequences of this omission, guarded against them by establishing a well balanced constitution in place of the royal one they had just rejected.

Charles II. being restored A. D. 1660, the face of the kingdom was entirely changed, and public and private rejoicings succeeded to trouble, terror, and consternation. Nothing could exhibit a more striking proof, how heartily the people were weary of an unsettled government, than the universal joy which they testified at the king's restoration. The commencement of his reign, seemed indeed to indicate a real desire of promoting the happiness of his people. In the first parliament after the restoration, A. D. 1660, an act was passed, confirming the abolition of feudal tenures, and in compensation for the loss of the emoluments which accrued to the crown from those tenures, the duties of excise on malt liquors, coffee, tea, sherbet, and chocolate, were settled on the king during his life. This is the first time that coffee, tea, or chocolate, are mentioned in the English statute-book, which is a proof of their recent introduction.* The reduction of interest from eight to six per cent, was also confirmed; and the famous navigation act, the palladium of the maritime greatness of Britain, was confirmed and amended. Charles perfectly knew the interests of his kingdom, and promoted them with assiduity, until his fatal propensity to pleasure turned his attention from public affairs. He commenced the settlement of Carolina; gave liberal charters to Connecticut, and Rhode Island; and conquered the Dutch in New York and New Jersey; and made a continuity of English provinces, and ultimately the United States, from New England to Savannah river. In his reign was passed the famous Habeas Corpus act, which has descended to the citizens of the United

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 2. p. 452

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States. Under him, Jamaica was greatly improved, and converted into an important sugar colony. The Royal Society of arts and sciences was instituted, and many beneficial acts respecting commerce, and colonization, were passed. His great failing, as a monarch was, that he set no bounds to his pleasures, which led him into extravagant expenses. He has been severely censured for selling Dunkirk to the French king for 250,000*l.* after having dissipated the immense sums granted by parliament.

The first Dutch war which commenced A. D. 1665, was carried on with great resolution and spirit under the conduct of the duke of York, afterwards James II. admiral of the fleet, who displayed consummate skill in naval affairs, and equal bravery in several engagements. But, while a treaty of peace was negotiating, the Dutch sailed up the Medway to Chatham, where they destroyed several large ships of war. The conclusion of peace soon followed this event.

The years 1665, and 1666, were rendered memorable by two national calamities of the most terrible nature. In the first of those years, the pestilence carried off a great number of persons in London, which during the continuance of that dreadful scourge, exhibited the most melancholy picture of human distress. The apprehensions excited by this terrible calamity, seemed to have steeled the hearts of men against every other sentiment; and imagination can hardly conceive a more miserable spectacle, than that of 40,000 servants of both sexes turned out to perish in the streets. No one would receive those unfortunate beings into their houses, and they were excluded from every other place of refuge by the country people round London, who drove them away with pitchforks and fire-arms. In this exigency, sir John Lawrence, the lord mayor, acted with equal intrepidity and humanity. He took those poor wretches under his protection, generously relieved them at his own expense as long as he was able, and afterwards by subscriptions, which he solicited from all quarters. Toward this humane purpose, the immense sum of 100,000*l.* was weekly distributed. The heroic intrepidity of general Monk, duke of Albemarle, and of William, earl of Craven,

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in this season of universal horror and dismay, ought to be held in perpetual remembrance.* In conjunction with the civil magistrates they used every possible means to alleviate the calamity, and to check its progress. Here indeed their courage was put to the test, and amidst the horrors of death, which no wisdom could avert, they displayed intrepid firmness, and calm composure of mind. With these illustrious names, that of archbishop Sheldon must be joined, as meriting equal praise.

The next year was not less destructive to the property, than the past had been to the population of London; for on the second of September, the most extensive and dreadful conflagration, that ever happened in that metropolis, broke out, in which 13,200 houses were burnt, with St. Pauls's cathedral and most of the churches, corporation halls, and other public structures. The damage occasioned by this terrible accident, is computed at more than 10,000,000 sterling. By the aid of two acts of parliament, the city was sooner and more elegantly rebuilt, than could have been reasonably expected.

This dreadful calamity, so destructive to property, remarkably displayed the kindness of Providence, in blending mercy with justice, and sparing the lives of the inhabitants, of whom it could not be discovered that more than eight persons perished. As it happened at a period when party rage was carried to great excess, it was supposed to be the act of some vile incendiaries, and the imputation was by some fixed on foreigners, by others on natives; but the catholics were chiefly accused: many idle and improbable reports were circulated, and several persons were apprehended on suspicion, but after diligent investigation, the most judicious inquirers concluded it to have been accidental.

During the greater part of Charles IId's reign, parties ran high. Religion was, in a great measure, the pretence of those cabals, which were managed in a manner contradictory

* These noblemen were shortly after rewarded for their humanity and loyalty by a grant of an eighth part of Carolina.

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to its precepts, and disgraceful to its name. The catholics and the protestants fabricated pretended plots, which they laid to each other's charge, and although their accusations were often not only groundless, but absurd, and their evidence ridiculous and contradictory, many distinguished persons of both persuasions became the victims of those diabolical manœuvres. Among the catholics, lord Stafford, and Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, with several Jesuits and others, and among the protestants, the excellent lord Russel, Algernon Sidney, and several other illustrious persons, were condemned and executed on the testimony of witnesses now generally supposed to have been perjured. All our accounts of these matters are so disguised by the spirit of faction, as to render it extremely difficult to judge, with certainty, of the guilt or the innocence of those who suffered in the cause of either party. The truth can be developed only by the Searcher of hearts. In the midst of these contests, a bill was brought in for the exclusion of the duke of York from the succession, which, being passed through the House of Commons, was rejected by the Lords.

It was, perhaps, fortunate for England, that Charles was so much more addicted to pleasure than to business. Had the contrary been the case, in the circumstances of the times at his accession, when the people were so weary of an unsettled government, as to think no change could be for the worse, he might, with a strict application of his respectable talents, have rendered himself completely despotic. In some things, indeed, he acted in a very arbitrary manner. The city of London, and almost all the other corporations, were frightened into the measures of the court. One of the most indefensible steps of this reign, was the shutting up of the Exchequer, and thus seizing on the money which the bankers had lent him at eight per cent. In this reign, episcopacy was established in Scotland, as well as in England.

Charles entered into many spirited measures for the protection and support of trade, which flourished exceedingly under his auspices. Nothing, indeed, can exhibit a more manifest proof of the activity of English commerce, at this time, than

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the expeditious restoration of the city of London, after the great conflagration. So vast a loss of merchandize of every kind, as well as of plate, household furniture, &c. and incalculable expense of rebuilding the city, in a more elegant, convenient, and substantial manner, than before, was extensively felt; but the enterprising activity which pervaded the mercantile world, soon overcame the impediments, and London, in a few years, recovered its primitive commerce.

This misfortune, which was only temporary, proved the means of extirpating a calamity, of a more tremendous and durable nature. The plague, which during a series of years had repeatedly, and with very short intervals, visited London, never made its appearance again after the rebuilding of the city, on a more open, and airy plan; and the removal of many nuisances which, if not the original source, were undoubtedly the pabulum of that dreadful disease. Before the conflagration, the streets were narrow, and the houses constructed almost entirely of timber, lath, and plaster, with each story projecting over another; so that the uppermost, on the opposite sides of the streets, almost met together, which confined the air, excluded the light, and gave to the greatest part of the city the appearance of an immense dungeon. But immediately after this disaster, two acts of parliament were passed for determining, in a summary way, the bounds of the houses, and the breadth of the streets; in consequence of which they were rendered much wider, as well as more convenient and elegant. To widen the public streets, much ground, before built on, was now set apart, such as middle rows, and other similar nuisances; and narrow alleys were turned into open streets. It is much to be lamented, that the plan, which Sir Christopher Wren offered to the public for rebuilding the city, was rejected.* If the designs of that great architectural genius had been carried into effect, the British metropolis would have been not only the largest, the richest, and most commercial, but also, the most beautiful, superb, and commodious city on the face of the globe. But the general

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 2, p. 490.

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confusion and derangement, which so extensive a conflagration caused in so vast and commercial a city, as London, and the haste of the citizens to resume their former occupations, rendered a regard to present circumstances more powerful, than any distant considerations. Although the superb plans of that eminent architect were not carried into full execution, the improvements which the city received have been conducive to its salubrity, as well as to its embellishment, and productive of incalculable benefit to posterity. In the reign of Charles II. the suburbs were extended and adorned with elegant streets. Commerce was so increased, and money became so plentiful, that land rose from twelve to sixteen or eighteen years purchase. The plantations flourished, and within the space of thirty years, the royal navy was doubled.*

Popular manners underwent a total change immediately after the restoration. Instead of the sobriety and general regularity, which the prevalence of puritanical principles had introduced, dissipation and libertinism became the reigning taste; and the nation followed the example of the court. Revolutions in national manners so sudden, so general, and so strongly marked, as those which took place in the latter part of the reign of Charles I. and the commencement of that of Charles II. have few parallels in history. These indeed proceeded from the changes in religious ideas, and the examples of the higher ranks in society, circumstances which have an incalculable influence on popular manners. The reign of Charles II. has been celebrated for wit and gallantry, although not of the most delicate kind; and the stage was disgraced by scenes of impurity. Amidst the general profligacy and libertinism of the times, learning flourished, and genius reared its head. The days of Charles may be considered as the beginning of an Augustan age of mathematics and philosophy. The English language was then refined, and harmonized. England, perhaps, never gave birth to more poets than in this reign: she at once possessed the sublimity of Milton, and the harmony of Dryden. Among all the misconduct which

* Campbell's Polit. Survey, vol. ii. p. 538.

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the memory of this prince has been branded, posterity ought still to keep in mind, that he carried naval architecture to the highest perfection, and that the royal navy of England owes some of its greatest improvements to the skill, which he, and his brother the duke of York, had in maritime affairs, and in the sciences connected with navigation. Charles II. possessed an excellent genius, and considerable knowledge in the arts; and, if he did not encourage them as much as he might have done, it was principally owing to the pecuniary embarrassments in which he was generally plunged by his extravagant dissipation. In regard to his religious ideas, he appears to have been a Roman Catholic; but some rather think that he was a Deist, and upon the whole his character seems to manifest a total indifference to religion. He died, 1684, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

James II. his brother, succeeded to the throne, in spite of all the efforts made for his exclusion. The army and the people demonstrated their affection towards him, in crushing the rebellion of the duke of Monmouth, natural son of Charles II., who laid claim to the crown, and assumed the title of king. This nobleman being defeated and taken prisoner was beheaded July 15th, 1685, and through the inhumanity of judge Jefferies and col. Kirk, a great number of his followers in the west of England were executed with unusual barbarity. Passive obedience was in those times the doctrine of the church of England; and James took the desperate resolution of trying how far practice would correspond with this principle. The experiment proved fatal to himself. He had long before his accession been known to be a Roman Catholic, which occasioned the attempt for his exclusion. He ascended the throne, not only without opposition, but with the universal approbation of his subjects, while no restraints whatever were imposed on him in regard to the public exercise of his religion. To these demostrations of loyalty and affection, James made an ungrateful return. Being himself a Catholic, it was just, that, as an individual, his conscience should be free, but he ought to have remembered that he was the sovereign of a Protestant kingdom. This important consideration, however, had no

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weight with the infatuated monarch; on the contrary, he resolved to render his own the established religion of his dominions; and, for the accomplishment of his project, had recourse to the most unjustifiable measures. Arrogating to himself the power of setting aside the laws, he made encroachments on the civil and religious rights of his people.

While James was thus exercising an arbitrary power, many persons of influence and distinction found it necessary to apply for relief to William, prince of Orange, who was son-in-law, as well as nephew, to king James, having married Mary, that monarch's eldest daughter. In consequence of this invitation, the prince, with a fleet of 500 sail of ships of war, and transports, set sail for England, where he landed his army, consisting of 14,000 men, declaring his design to restore the church and state to their rights. He was immediately joined, not only by the whigs, but by many on whose friendship James had chiefly relied, and the unfortunate monarch saw himself abandoned even by his daughter Anne, who, with the prince of Denmark her husband, went over to the prince of Orange. James continued beset with the same bigotted counsellors who had led him to ruin. In pursuance of their advice, or in consequence of his own apprehensions, he resolved to take refuge in France, after having first sent thither the queen and his son. The throne thus left vacant, was offered by the parliament to William, prince of Orange, who, in conjunction with the princess his spouse, accepted it on conditions highly favourable to constitutional liberty. William and Mary were then jointly proclaimed king and queen of England. Thus was terminated the reign of James II. A. D. 1688, by an event distinguished in English history, by the name of the revolution. James wanted neither abilities nor exertion to qualify him for the most exalted station. In the two Dutch wars, which happened during his brother's reign, he had acquired the reputation of a brave and experienced commander; and he possessed great skill in maritime affairs. As a king, religious bigotry, and the love of arbitrary power, were his principal vices; and they proved his ruin. The commerce of England had continued rapidly increasing

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during the short reign of James, and the nation had never before attained to so high a pitch of prosperity. To shew how much trade, once set in motion, acquires an increased velocity in its progress, no more is necessary, than to observe, how long it seemed to languish and remain stationary in Europe, and particularly in England, and its astonishing advancement after the improvement of navigation, and the discoveries of later times, had excited its activity. From such a retrospect it will be found, that commerce accelerates its progress in proportion to the increase of capital. In the year 1666, the customs of England were farmed at 390,000*l.* yearly, but from 1671 to 1688, they annually yielded, net to the crown, the sum of 555,752*l.* per annum, on an average. The tonnage of the merchant vessels was nearly doubled between 1666 and 1688; and that of the royal navy was increased from 62,594 to 101,032 tons.* Dr. Davenant also exhibits a view of the augmentation of the general rental of England, by the combined effects of commerce, and the improvement of agriculture, during the seventeenth century:

A. D. 1600.	General rent of land, houses, and mines - -	*L.*6,000,000
	Value at twelve years' purchase	72,000,000
A. D. 1698.	General rent as before -	14,000,000
	Value at eighteen years' purchase - -	252,000,000

A wonderful alteration in the space of a century, and yet this rapidity of increase in the national trade and wealth, has been much exceeded in later times.

The revenue granted to Charles II. did not exceed 1,200,000*l.*; but that of James II. amounted to 2,000,000, a far greater sum than was ever raised by any former sovereign of England, being almost thirty-six times as much as the revenues of Henry V., and yet not one fifteenth part of those of modern Britain,† so wonderful are the effects of an extensive commerce. At the revolution, the royal navy consisted

* Davenant on public revenue and trade of England, part 2. p. 42.
† Campbell's Polit. Survey, vol. 2. p. 419, and 539.

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of 173 ships, of different rates, requiring 42,000 seamen for their complement. This was a formidable display of maritime strength for that period, but inconsiderable in comparison of those armaments, amounting, in 1811, to more than 1000 vessels, with which Britain now covers the ocean.

William III. having accepted the sovereignty of a nation, jealous of its rights, and grown cautious by experience, the revolution was not confined to the establishment of a new king. At this important crisis, so favourable to the security of freedom, many new regulations were introduced in the political system. The British constitution may be said to have then been, for the first time, settled upon a firm basis.*

* Before this period, the government was truly a despotic one. Trials by jury had, indeed, been an establishment from the most remote antiquity; but, on many occasions, the people were deprived of its protection, and various were the methods for setting it aside. A court, called the Star Chamber, was erected, consisting of persons who held their offices entirely at the pleasure of the king: and, if he himself chose to be present, his single opinion, or caprice, could control and overrule their judgment. Their proceedings were limited by no law. They could fine, imprison, and punish capitally, as they pleased,—every kind of offence, and every condition of men, was subject to their jurisdiction. They might re-refuse to confront the witness, with the accused, they might proceed on mere suspicion, and oblige the accused, by oath, to discover his own guilt; and, if it was not deemed sufficiently manifest, they might subject him to torture. Whenever any insurrection or public disorder took place, the sovereign employed martial law; and any one whom a governor, or any of his officers, might suspect, was liable to all the rigours of its discipline. This law was by no means limited to times of civil war. Governors were often permitted to exercise it at discretion. Yet, in these courts, arbitrary as they were, some appearance of a trial was preserved; and, at least, a formal sentence was given. But often, without a trial, imprisonment was inflicted at the discretion of the sovereign, or of his ministers; and after other severe and capricious punishments, the miserable victims of their suspicions, were thrown into dungeons, and loaded with chains, without any prospect of relief. A spirit of patriotism was not only of no consequence, but attended with the utmost danger; for, at the rising of parliament, all who had adventured in it, to oppose the measures of government, were sure of imprisonment and prosecution. The power of giving supplies to government, was almost the only power which parliament was acknowledg-

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The revolution of 1688 furnishes, doubtless, a most noble precedent. It exhibits the glorious example of a brave

ed to possess; but numerous and oppressive were the methods by which it was defeated. The sovereign asserted a privilege of exacting loans of money, in the most unequal and arbitrary manner: loans that were to be repaid only at his pleasure, and which, in general, were not repaid at all. Money was extorted without even the disguise of a loan, under the name of a benevolence, and without any promise of repayment, and it could not be refused, without incurring the guilt of disaffection. When the sovereign, and all the attendants and retainers of his court, journeyed, or but signified their intention to make a journey, beasts of burden, carriages, provisions of every kind, every thing reckoned of the remotest use, might be seized at will: and they were seized, not only in the places through which he actually travelled, but in the most distant corners of the kingdom, and no relief could be obtained, but by pecuniary and arbitrary commutations. When any merchant, or company of merchants, had goods on hand, the sale, by an order from the king, might be totally prohibited, till money was given to lay off the ruinous restraint.* The power of legislation, by parliamentary representation, was but a name, for the kings possessed a power of dispensing with all the laws which parliament could make; all the customs and duties, in particular, fixed in that supreme council, might be altered according to the royal will, and some favourites were totally exempted from them, and privileged with monopolies. The royal proclamations also, however arbitrary, had the force of law in all matters, without exception; and the various royal courts took care to see them more rigorously executed than the laws themselves. The free course of justice could hardly be said to have existence: for an order from court could stop, at once, all legal proceedings, and favour often exempted the greatest oppressor from every prosecution. The great, no less than the mean, were bound in this ignoble and abject slavery. When a great man died, leaving children under age, the whole estate, during the minority, was seized and enjoyed by the crown; and, if the heir happened to be a female, she could not be given in marriage, but by the sovereign's direction. Relief from oppression could not be found, even in foreign countries; for

* To these, ship money might have been added. It was, originally, a voluntary contribution, made by the maritime provinces, to provide ships for their defence, when in danger of an immediate invasion from a foreign enemy. The sovereign soon turned it into a tax, and extended it to the most inland counties. He, alone, judged of the danger, and his proclamation was held as sufficient evidence of the necessity.

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and free people, rising up as one man, to wrest the sceptre from the hands of a tyrant. At that period, the ends for

no person, without the royal permission, could leave the kingdom. These formidable prerogatives, which the crown enjoyed, were secured to it by the established principles of the times, and enforced by all the terrors of religion. These attributed to the sovereign a power unlimited and indefeasible, which was the fountain of all law, and could itself be bounded and circumscribed by none; and they enjoined on his subjects a blind and indefinite obedience, which, on no occasion, it could be lawful for them to withhold. Every species of opposition to tyranny was punished as flagrant sedition on earth, and represented as criminal and damnable with respect to the world to come.

These formidable powers of the sovereign, did not continue uninterrupted to the revolution. From various causes, men became less tractable, and more enlightened; and king Charles the first was dethroned and executed by his indignant subjects, and his family driven into exile. But this commotion of the people overshot its aim: the established tyranny was succeeded by a dismal anarchy, until at last the exiled family was restored, and along with it, the greatest part of the public grievances returned. The princes of this family supposed themselves restored to all their ancient claims. The last of the family displayed them in all their rigour. Taxes by his order were raised, and armies levied and kept on foot, without even the countenance of law; and fines, imprisonments, and capital punishments were again inflicted at discretion. After the restoration of the exiled family, every spark of public spirit and civil liberty seemed to be extinguished. No balance remained to capricious despotism, and no restraints against its enormities, except the unconquerable attachment of the common people to their religion. This, all the tyranny of governors was unable to diminish. From this sole spring, the provinces and dominions of Britain derive all the liberty and security they now enjoy.

The person to whom, in these dreadful circumstances, all turned their thoughts, was the celebrated William, prince of Orange, nephew to the king; and whose princess was apparent heiress of the British crown. With the most consummate ability, he formed and conducted an expedition which terminated in the revolution, and secured the liberties of the people. Since that event, no inquisitorial court, civil or religious, dares to usurp dominion. The lives of the meanest are as sacred and secure, as the life of the king himself; for, without a trial by a jury of their equals, they cannot be affected. Every man may worship God according to his own conscience, and in any form he judges most acceptable to his Maker. State prisons no longer immure the persons obnoxious to royal jealousy; they can

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which all just government was originally instituted, could only be secured by a violation of the regular and established forms of the constitution. Though the softer term, abdication, was adopted, by way of indulgence to the unhappy prejudices then too prevalent, this pretended abdication was really a despotism; and the claim of the heir apparent was wisely and effectually barred, and the prince and princess of Orange were, in the name of all the people of England, de-

at pleasure, demand their trial: the law reigns above the sovereign, and innocence is seated secure beyond the reach of power. Property is as sacred as persons; all arbitrary taxes, and forced exactions, are at an end; the king cannot take from his subjects the smallest mite, but what the law allows; he cannot control their commerce, and his power of granting invidious monopolies is annihilated. Instead of being the sole source of law, it takes its rise principally from the people, for no laws can be made, but by the representatives whom they intrust; and all claims of dispensing with law, or of substituting royal proclamations in the place of law, are at an end. The sovereign cannot raise one soldier more, nor detain him a longer time, than the law allows; and, at the voice of law, their pay must cease, and the king's power over them entirely vanish. The greatest man in the kingdom cannot, with impunity, injure the meanest. The judges are independent of the sovereign; his servants are amenable to their bar. These are some of the valuable blessings derived from the revolution; but the sum of all is, that the sovereign himself must bow to law, has no place, no prerogative, but what the law allows, and from the dangerous elevation of a despot, is brought down to the secure ground, and yet the most honourable situation, in which any sovereign can stand that of the father of his people, the trustee and guardian of their rights, and their "minister from God for good." These privileges could not have been obtained without a revolution; for, while no right to the British throne was known, but what arose from inheritance, it was considered as absolute, and incontrollable; and, though royal power, in difficult times, often was abridged and limited, the hereditary sovereigns always supposed, that they had lost. Even the son of the king, had the crown been fixed on him, would, in all probability, have reasoned like all his predecessors. No possible method, therefore, remained, to abolish all pretended inherent claims for ever, except to call to the throne a prince, who had no title from inheritance, who held the crown entirely as the people's gift. This glorious revolution produced a still greater one, in less than a century. The British nation, in 1688, set the example of a popular election of a king. Their descendants, the Americans, in 1776, resolved to set aside the kingly office altogether.

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clared king and queen. Whoever attempts to justify these proceedings, by an appeal to the letter of the law, and the forms of the constitution, will find himself very much embarrassed. The political rectitude of these acts, rests upon much higher grounds; upon the basis of the public happiness, and of the common rights of human nature. The excellence of the English constitution, is a question which enters not into the dispute. If the sacred and unalienable rights, which this constitution is intended to guard, be violated on the part of the monarch, a temporary violation of its forms becomes indispensably necessary, on the part of the people, in order effectually to protect, and ultimately to restore it. The bill of rights confirmed and secured the liberties of the subject, and as the two last kings had made a bad use of the national revenue which had been left entire in their hands, an important revolution took place in that department of the public administration. The revenue was now divided into two distinct parts, of which, one was allotted to the current national service of the year, and to be accounted for to parliament; the other, which is called the civil list, being granted to the king for the support of his house and dignity, was left wholly at his disposal. The funding system, the boldest and most refined operation that ever took place in finance, was established in this reign.

At the æra of the revolution no national debt existed. It is one of the most astonishing facts in all the records of history, that, since that memorable event, a debt has been contracted, which cannot be estimated at less than 750 millions sterling; a sum, so vast, that it probably exceeds the whole aggregate value of the precious metals, actually in circulation, throughout all the kingdoms of the globe. A political phenomenon so extraordinary, could not fail to employ the sagacity of the ablest statesmen and philosphers. In opposition, however, to the most confident predictions, and, indeed, contrary to every apparently reasonable ground of expectation, the kingdom is not only capable of sustaining the pressure of this immense load, but exhibits plain indications of internal vigour, and even of increasing wealth and prosperity. That there is a point, however, beyond which the accumulation of

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the public debt, must prove destructive and fatal, cannot be doubted.

Before this remarkable period, the English kings used to borrow money on their own credit, of subjects or foreigners, and we have often had occasion to remark the wretched expedients to which they were frequently reduced, in order to procure a supply. Sometimes, also, they were obliged to have recourse to the city of London, to join in the security; and they often borrowed money from that opulent corporation. In the reign of William III. those evils were remedied, by that commodious and comprehensive plan of national finance, which raised loans of money on parliamentary security, called the public funds, which render the credit of the nation inviolable, and its resources incalculable. The project was supposed to be an effectual means of confirming the revolution, by engaging the monied part of the nation in its support.

The principal object of William's government was to humble France; his reign was spent in an almost uninterrupted series of hostilities with that kingdom, which were supported by England at an unprecedented expense, and put the parliament on new expedients for raising money. In this reign a land tax was imposed, for the raising of which, the counties were assessed according to the valuations given in by each. This reign also furnishes the epoch of the establishment of the bank of England, and other beneficial institutions. William, however, received so many mortifications from his parliament, chiefly in regard to the immense supplies necessary for carrying on the war against Louis XIV., that he is said to have actually resolved upon an abdication, but was induced to relinquish his design. The hopes of being supported in his war against France, enabled him to bear the affronts which he often met with, but at last he found himself obliged to conclude the peace of Ryswick. In consequence of this treaty, Louis acknowledged his title to the crown of England. William lost his queen, who died of the small pox, A. D. 1694, in the thirty-third year of her age, and three before the conclusion of the peace; but the government was still continued in his person. His fear of seeing the whole Spanish monarchy uni-

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ted to that of France, after the death of the catholic king Charles II., hurried him into the impolitic measure of concluding, with Louis XIV., the famous partition treaty, by which the dominions of Spain were to be divided between the two houses of Bourbon and Austria. This treaty was severely condemned by the parliament.

On the death of James, the court of France discovered its insincerity by immediately proclaiming his son king of Great Britain. This perfidy only served to render William more popular in England, and the two houses, having passed a bill of abjuration, presented an address for a war with France. The last act of his reign, and the most glorious to England, was his giving assent to the bill for settling the succession in the house of Hanover. His death, which was caused by a fall from his horse, happened 8th March, A. D. 1702, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign. The manners of William III. were cold and forbidding. Literature and the arts flourished under his reign, but not through his patronage or encouragement. War was the only science that he knew; and the balance of power the only speculative subject that he studied.

For the maintaining of this balance, England suffered severely, by land and by sea. In the beginning of the war, which was terminated by the peace of Ryswick, the marine of France proved superior to that of Great Britain, but in the year 1692, the former received an irrecoverable blow in the memorable naval engagement off La Hogue, where admiral Tourville, with forty-four ships of war, was waiting to take on board 20,000 troops, that were ready to embark under the conduct of king James, for the invasion of England. Admiral D'Etrees was, at the same time, in his way from Toulon, to join him with thirty sail, but was prevented by contrary winds. In this situation, Tourville was attacked by the combined fleets of England and Holland, which, according to Voltaire, and others, consisted of near 100 sail. Twenty-one of the largest French ships were destroyed, among which was the admiral's superb ship, the Royal Sun, mounting 110 brass cannon. This was the first fatal blow which the formi-

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dable marine of Louis XIV. received, and by this memorable victory, the naval superiority of England over France was established.

Anne, princess of Denmark, daughter of James II. succeeded to the throne: she resolved to fulfil all William's engagements with his allies. She gave the command of the army to the earl, afterwards duke of Marlborough, who possessed all the qualifications of a general, and a statesman. As soon as he was placed at the head of the army, his genius and activity gave a new turn to the war; and he soon became the idol of the Dutch, and the terror of France.

Charles II. king of Spain, influenced by the intrigues of France, and his own resentment of the partition treaty, made a will by which he appointed Philip, duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. his successor, in the undivided sovereignty of all his dominions, both in the old and new world. In consequence of this appointment, Philip was proclaimed king of Spain, and his title was supported by a numerous army, which Louis having ready for the occasion, immediately poured into the kingdom. Philip's succession was disputed by the second son of the emperor of Germany, who assumed the title of Charles III. and was supported by the empire, England, Holland, and other powers, who, seeing the house of Bourbon become, by the acquisition of the whole Spanish empire, more dangerous than ever, entered into a confederacy to prevent its exorbitant aggrandizement.

In the course of the war which this coalition excited, several glorious victories were obtained by the allies. At the battle of Blenheim, gained by the confederates, A. D. 1704, Marshal Tallard, the French general, was taken prisoner, and 20,000 French and Bavarians killed, wounded, or drowned in the Danube, besides 13,000 prisoners, with a proportionate number of cannon, standards, and other military trophies. In the same year, admiral Sir George Rooke made the important conquest of Gibraltar, which still remains in the possession of England. The battle of Ramillies was fought in 1706, and a complete victory gained by the duke of Marlborough.

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Another victory was gained at Oudenarde, A. D. 1708, and the next year Sept. 11, the French lines were forced at Malplacquet, after a desperate resistance. These achievements produced few decisive effects; and, perhaps, there never was a greater effusion of blood, or expenditure of money, lavished to so little purpose.

The reiterated successes of the confederates rendered Louis XIV. extremely desirous of peace, and conferences were opened at Gertruydenburg, A. D. 1710. On the part of England they were managed by the duke of Marlborough, and the lord Townsend, and by the marquis de Torcy on that of the French. All the offers of the latter were rejected by the duke and his associates. Little success could indeed be expected from negotiations, in which the question of peace was to be decided by persons whose interests were so materially concerned in the continuance of war. The unexpected change of ministry in England, was in the highest degree favourable to France. The duke was removed from the command of the army, which was conferred on the duke of Ormond; and the cabals of the court determined the destiny of Europe. England had certainly great need of peace, but it was highly impolitic to deprive the duke of Marlborough of the command before its conclusion. His successes had been so numerous, and his military reputation was so great, that his continuance in his post would have induced the enemy to treat on terms more advantageous to England.

The duke of Ormond, on taking the command, immediately produced his orders for an armistice, but they were disregarded by the allies, who continued the war without the co-operation of the English. When abandoned by England, they were not a match for the French. Conferences soon after opened at Utrecht, and as France and England, the two leading powers in the war, were equally desirous of terminating hostilities, the preliminaries were soon agreed on, and a general peace between the belligerent powers was, shortly after, concluded.

The remainder of this reign was continually agitated by the

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jarrings of parties, and the queen's life was rendered uneasy by the contentions of her ministers. She died of a lethargic disorder the 1st of August, 1714, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign, which had been distinguished by a series of brilliant successes, but except the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, by few national advantages. In spite of a continued series of warfare, trade having already acquired activity and vigour, still continued to flourish, and interest was by act of parliament, in the last year of this reign, reduced to five per cent.

The reigns of Charles II. James II. William III. and Anne, corresponding with that of Louis XIV. may justly be considered as the Augustan age of literature, philosophy, and science, in Europe, especially in England and France. The illustrious persons who, in both countries, distinguished themselves by the brilliancy of their genius, and by their scientific attainments, were numerous. Flamstead, Newton, and Halley explored the whole system of nature; and Addison, Prior, Congreve, Gay, and many others, unfolded the charms of literature.

On the demise of queen Anne, George I. elector of Hanover, son of the princess Sophia, grand daughter of James I. was, in conformity to the act of settlement, proclaimed king of Great Britain. In the commencement of his reign he displaced most of the tory ministers. This did not excite any commotions in England, but in Scotland the earl of Mar raised a rebellion A. D. 1715, which, in the beginning of the next year was happily suppressed. The nation, however, during the first part of this reign, was extremely unsettled. It was generally supposed that queen Anne, with her tory ministry, had formed a project for calling her brother to the succession, and many persons in the kingdom were thought to favour the measure. The disposition of the nation appeared so much inclined to political contention, that it was not deemed expedient to call a new parliament, and the members of that which was sitting voted an extension of its duration, from three to seven years, which has, ever since, re-

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mained the legal period, at which a new election takes place. This was an illegal, but at that time a fortunate measure, as in all probability it preserved the peace of the kingdom, when the public mind seemed but too ripe for fermentation. The continental connections of this prince being various and complicated, often involved him in political embarrassments.

The year 1720 was rendered memorable by that infatuating bubble, the speculation of the South Sea Company, one of the most disastrous money projects that ever took place in any age or country. In the sixth year of this reign, an act had been passed, enabling the South Sea Company to redeem all or any of the redeemable national debts, in consideration of which it was empowered to augment its capital according to the sums it should discharge. For this purpose the company were authorised to raise, by such means as they should think proper, the sums which they might find necessary. Upon the ground of this statute, the fatal South Sea scheme was projected. This company had, at the first, been exceedingly successful, and their stock had, during the last five years, risen in value more rapidly than that of any other company. Such was its prosperous state when the grand bubble was projected; the pretended design of which was to raise a fund for carrying on a trade to the South Sea, &c. Proposals were printed, shewing the advantages of the design, and inviting persons of monied property to enter into so lucrative a speculation. The sums necessary for carrying it on, with the profits that were to arise from it, were divided into a number of shares, to be purchased by persons disposed to join in the undertaking. The directors also engaged to make large dividends; and the people were persuaded that every 100*l.* original stock, would yield 50*l.* per annum. This occasioned so great a rise of their stock, that a share of it sold at 820*l.* and even 1000*l.* per cent, In the month of September following, it fell to 150 per cent by which revolution multitudes were ruined, and an almost unparalleled scene of distress was exhibited. Many expedients were devised for the relief of the sufferers; but the frenzy had been so great, that

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the evils it had caused to individuals could not possibly be repaired. Most of the directors however, were punished by fines to the amount of the greatest part of their property.*

While the South Sea stock was thus acquiring an exhorbitant value, the popular frenzy likewise affected the other great companies, and raised their stock greatly above its just value. Bank stock advanced to 250*l.* and East India stock to 445*l.* per cent. It is a curious fact, almost incredible to posterity, that about midsummer in the year 1720, the advanced prices of all English stocks amounted to about 500,000,000*l.* sterling, or five times as much as the current cash of all Europe. And that a sum above double the value of the fee simple of all the immoveable property of England, had an imaginary existence in this chimerical traffic.

In this season of wild adventure, numerous projects were daily set on foot; and every proposal for subscription met with encouragement. The delusion was so great, that any impudent impostor needed only to hire a room at some convenient place near Exchange alley, and open a subscription book for some project relative to commerce, manufactures, plantations, or any supposed new invention, having first advertised it in the newspapers, and he might, in a few hours, find subscribers for 1,000,000*l.* or 2,000,000*l.* or more, of imaginary stock. Many of the subscribers themselves were far from considering the projects as any thing better than mere bubbles; it was sufficient for their purpose that the receipts on their subscriptions would soon be sold at a premium; and they generally got rid of them, in the crowded alley, to others more credulous, or less artful than themselves. The deposit money, at the same time, answered the whole purpose of the projector. The first purchasers of those receipts soon found second purchasers, who still met with others at higher prices; and so great was the wild confusion among the crowd in Exchange alley, that the same bubble was sometimes sold, at the same instant, ten per cent. higher at one end of the alley, than at the other. Not a day passed without fresh projects recom-

* And. Hist. Com. vol. iii. p. 97.

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mended in the newspapers, by pompous advertisements. Some of those projectors contenting themselves with what they had gotten in the morning, by the deposit money of the subscription, disappeared in the afternoon, and neither they, nor their subscription books, were ever heard of more. Persons of quality of both sexes were, as well as the common people, deeply engaged in this chimerical traffic. From morning till evening the dealers in those bubbles, as well as in South Sea stock, appeared in continual crowds in Exchange alley.*

So wild a scene of extravagant speculation and general imposture, loudly called for the interference of the legislature. Statutes were therefore enacted, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the opening of any of those juggling subscriptions, and the exercise of any agency, or brokerage, in carrying them forwards. As soon as the eyes of the public were opened, and the juggling projects by which they had so long been dazzled, began to lose credit, all this imaginary wealth was reduced to its real value, and the whole chimæra was immediately dissipated.

During the period here under consideration, the politics of Europe were scarcely less fluctuating than the concerns of mercantile speculation. Never was there a time more remarkable for negotiations, treaties, and alliances, and a very great degree of public tranquillity was the happy effects of these political measures. Some trifling contests with Spain were productive of no remarkable consequences. An expedition under admiral Hosier, who was sent to watch the Spanish plate fleet off Porto Bello, proved inglorious and fatal. The ships were so eaten with worms as to be rendered unfit for future service, and the admiral, as well as most of his men, perished by endemical diseases. The Spaniards on their side were not more fortunate for they lost 10,000 men in an unsuccessful seige of Gibralter. In this reign, the sinking fund for diminishing the national debt was established. The value of the northern parts of the kingdom began now to be better

* For a fuller display of these matters, see And. Hist. Com. vol. iii. p. 91 to 122.

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understood than formerly, and the manufactures began to move gradually northwards. This was in a great measure owing to the cheapness of living, and especially of fuel, in the northern counties. Such are the outlines of the national concerns under George I. This monarch died suddenly at Osnaburg on the 11th of June 1727, in the sixty eighth year of his age. He was a moderate and sagacious prince and during the greatest part of the time that he swayed the sceptre England enjoyed the blessings of peace and flourished in prosperity.

George II. having mounted the throne, reinstated in his office sir Robert Walpole, who was already considered as prime minister. No one who had filled that station, had ever better understood the temper of the people of England, and perhaps few had ever managed it with greater success. His influence in parliament was so great, that during his long administration he had never lost a question that he was earnestly solicitous to carry. Peace was the darling object of this minister and all his measures were calculated for its preservation. His pacific system encouraged the depredations of the Spaniards abroad, and created him enemies at home. In opposition to him a war with Spain was resolved upon. Admiral Vernon, a zealous adherent of the anti ministerial party, was sent in 1739 with a squadron of six ships to the West Indies, where he took and demolished Porto Bello; but he miscarried in his other attempts. That which he made in conjunction with general Wentworth, on Carthagena, was disastrous in the extreme. These miscarriages were all imputed to the neglect of the minister. Such was the state of affairs, when in the general election a majority was returned unfavourble to sir Robert Walpole, who, after a short trial of his influence, resigned all his employments, having been previously created earl of Oxford. He was a man of letters, as well as consummate experience, and skill in public affairs, and at this time when the spirit of party no longer warps the public mind, he is acknowledged to have been an able minister and one who merited the applause of his country. His pacific system contributed greatly, if not to the glory, at least to the advan-

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tage of the nation by favouring the increase of its trade and the improvements of its manufactures.

In the West Indies the campaign of 1741 proved extremely unfortunate. The historians of that fatal year relate, that not less than 20,000 British soldiers and seamen perished in the impracticable attempt on Carthagena. On the continent, the duke of Cumberland lost the battle of Fontenoy, and 7,000 of the flower of his army. The important town and fortress of Louisburg, in the island of Cape Breton were taken from the French by New England militia under colonel Pepperel. In the year 1744, admiral Anson having completed the circumnavigation of the globe, returned with an immense treasure amounting to near 1,000,000*l.* sterling, acquired by the capture of the Manilla galleon, from Acapulco, and other valuable prizes.

The court of France, to avail itself of the discontents excited in England, by the ill success of the continental war, and fomented by the Jacobite party, resolved on an application to the Pretender, who then resided at Rome, and it was agreed that his son Charles Edward, an active young man, should repair to France, and from thence make an attempt to overturn the British government. The sanguine young prince, elated with the hopes of obtaining the crown, and encouraged with promises of support from France, readily engaged in this romantic expedition, and landed on the western coast of Scotland, with only six or seven followers, A. D. 1745. With so feeble a force did this bold adventurer attempt the conquest of Great Britain. In this remote part of the empire, he soon assembled a number of followers, and having defeated a party of the king's troops in the Highlands, advanced with great rapidity to Perth, and from thence to Carlisle, causing his father every where to be proclaimed king of Great Britain. In this manner he advanced as far as Derby, without receiving any check, but here was the end of his progress. On the approach of the duke of Cumberland at the head of the royal army, the rebels began to retreat, and continued their route northward with great precipitation. The benefitial effects of the public debt were never so visible as at this mo-

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mentous crisis. The common dangers united all in one common cause, and in one general interest the support of public credit, and the defence of private property; and the merchants in an address to the throne, professing their resolution of supporting the bank, by receiving its notes in payment, demonstrated at once their prudence and their loyalty. By this steady adherence of the monied interest to the government, the project formed by the French court for ruining public credit, by means of this rebellion was happily frustrated. The duke of Cumberland pursuing the rebels, at last came up with them at Culloden, and by the total defeat of their army, restored the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, A. D. 1746. The situation of the young Pretender, the rash chief of this desperate enterprise, now exactly resembled that of his great uncle Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, and was attended with a similar series of distresses, difficulties, dangers, and escapes. After wandering for six months in the dreary wilds of Glengary, accompanied only by Sheridan, an Irish adventurer, he at last met with a vessel procured by his friends for that purpose, and by that means escaped safely to France.

The war on the continent still continued unsuccessful, and it now began to be the prevailing opinion that a peace was necessary to save the English army from destruction. The French marine and commerce were at the same time in danger of being annihilated by the English fleets. Upon the whole, the successes of England and France in this war may be said to have been balanced. The two courts, therefore, began to turn their thoughts towards peace; negotiations were commenced; the preliminaries were signed in April, and the definitive treaty was concluded at Aix la Chapelle, in October 1748, the basis of which was the mutual restitution of all places taken during the war. This result was a eulogy on the conduct of sir Robert Walpole, and a practical demonstration of the benefits of the pacific system of that minister, which would have saved so much blood and treasure, expended in a war that ended exactly at the point where it began.

The peace of Aix la Chapelle can scarcely be considered

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as any thing more than a truce, for immediately after its conclusion the court of France, frustrated in Europe, transferred its views to America, and there formed the grand project of constructing a line of forts along the banks of the Ohio and the lakes, and extending quite through the interior, from Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi, of which the accomplishment must have given to France the command of almost the whole North American continent. Had this great project been carried into complete and successful execution, the whole of North America would, in all probability, have been at this time an appendage of France, and the American States, instead of forming an independent and powerful republic, would have constituted a part of her widely extended empire. Thus a universal and all-controlling Providence, by a mysterious train of causes and effects, determines the destiny of nations, and marks out their formation, their exaltation, their depression, or their extension.

The encroachments made by the French, on the English back settlements in America, in consequence of this great project, gave rise to a wide spreading war. In consequence of the prompt and decisive measures of the British government above 500 sail of French merchantmen, and more than 8,000 seamen were captured and brought into England before the end of the year 1755. Thus, at the very commencement of the war, and anterior to any declaration of it, a blow was given to the naval resources of the enemy, of which the effects were conspicuous during the whole course of its continuance. A mixture of good and ill success, however, marked for some time, its further progress. The unfortunate affair of fort Du Quesne, now called Pittsburg, fatally distinguished by the defeat and death of the brave general Braddock, was counterbalanced by the success of major general Johnston at Crown Point, where the French were defeated with the loss of 1,000 men. But while the public spirit was elated by a view of the formidable armaments prepared for a vigorous prosecution of the war, it was soon depressed by the news of the unsuccessful rencontre of the English fleet under admiral Byng, with that of the French, under admiral

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Gallissoniere, and the consequent surrender of Minorca to the enemy. Admiral Byng, in consequence of this unfortunate business, was sentenced to be shot. His execution took place at Portsmouth; the intrepidity with which he met his fate, removed from his character every imputation, or even suspicion of cowardice.

Mr. Pitt, afterwards the great lord Chatham, soon restored the spirits of his countrymen, by a masterly plan of operations, calculated to annoy the enemy in every quarter of the globe. The war was at once carried into Asia, Africa, and America. The French settlements were every where attacked, and generally conquered. Their squadrons were defeated, and their commerce destroyed. In 1758, general Amherst and admiral Boscawen reduced Louisburg, and captured five French ships of the line. Forts Frontinac and du Quesne also fell into the hands of the English. The year 1759 was distinguished by the success of three grand expeditions in America. One of these was against the French islands in the West Indies, where Guadaloupe was reduced. The second was against Quebec, the capital of Canada, and was one of the most arduous enterprizes of this memorable war. The command was given to general Wolfe, by the advice of the minister, who was well acquainted with the military talents of that excellent young officer. In this expedition he surmounted, with astonishing intrepidity and perseverance, a combination of difficulties seldom paralleled in the annals of military operations, and having gained the heights of Abraham, which by nature were almost inaccessible, and defended by works that were deemed impregnable, he defeated the French army, which was superior in numbers, and commanded by Montcalm, one of the bravest and most skilful of their generals. The victory was severely contested, and both the commanders fell in the action. General Monkton, who was second in command in the English army, being also wounded, the defeat of the French, and the reduction of Quebec, were completed by brigadier general Townshend.

This victory cost England a high price, being no less than the loss of her brave general Wolfe. General Amherst con-

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ducted the third expedition; the object of which was to reduce the back parts of Canada, and then to effect a junction with the army destined to act against Quebec. The enterprize was successful in all its parts, and the whole plan of operations was completed by the entire reduction of the French empire in North America, and the transfer of it to Britain.

On the European continent affairs wore a very different aspect: the French having entered Hanover, the duke of Cumberland was so pressed, that he was obliged to conclude the treaty of Closterseven, in consequence of which the former took possession of that electorate. The English parliament, however, voted large supplies for the preservation of his majesty's German dominions. A treaty of mutual defence was concluded A. D. 1758, between the kings of England and Prussia, in consequence of which the parliament voted 670,000*l.* to his Prussian majesty, as well as other sums to the amount of near 2,000,000*l.* per annum, for the payment of 50,000 German troops. The French having violated the convention of Closterseven, his Britannic majesty ordered the Hanoverian army to resume its operations. The command was conferred on prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who expelled the French from Hanover. He was also joined by a corps of 12,000 British troops, under the duke of Marlborough. The English were generally victorious. The battle of Minden, in which 7,000 English defeated a much more numerous French army, was one of the most glorious in the annals of Britain.

The French resolved on an attempt to retrieve all their misfortunes, by an invasion of England; but on the 8th August, 1759, the Toulon squadron, under the command of M. de la Clue, was defeated by admiral Boscawen, with the loss of five ships of the line, of which three were taken by the English, and two burnt; and on the 20th November following, admiral sir Edward Hawke defeated the Brest fleet, commanded by M. de Conflans. In this action six French ships of the line were taken or destroyed. These repeated naval defeats extinguished all hopes of carrying into execution

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their plan of invasion. The war on the continent continuing undecided, and on the part of Great Britain exceedingly expensive, while the credit of France was almost ruined, and her commerce daily diminishing, both these powers began to be inclined towards peace; but could not yet agree on its conditions. Such was the state of affairs when his majesty George II. died suddenly, on the 25th October, 1760, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign.

The most remarkable statutes, enacted in the reign of George II., were the following: An act passed in May, 1751, for abolishing the old, and establishing the new stile, as corrected and regulated by pope Gregory XIII., A. D. 1582, and already used in most parts of Europe. In the preamble to the act, it was set forth that "the use of the Julian account, or old stile, was attended by divers inconveniences." It is strange that it was not earlier rectified. But this, perhaps, would not have been so easily performed in the in the ages of bigotry which immediately followed, as well as preceded, the reformation. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the minds of men were more enlightened, and, in protestant countries, a good regulation was no longer condemned, merely because it originated at Rome, or happened to be the work of a pope. In 1753, was passed the famous act for preventing clandestine marriages, and, in the same session, an act was passed, although not without great opposition, for permitting the naturalization of Jews. This act was repealed in the session of the year following, for which the reason assigned was, that "occasion had been taken, from the said act, to raise discontents, and disquiet the minds of his majesty's subjects." As it might have induced many persons, of great opulence, to settle in England, there were many people who could not conceive how it could reasonably give offence to moderate Christians. Religious bigotry, although exceedingly weakened, is not completely extirpated. In this reign, only one year after the peace of Aix la Chappelle, a new regulation took place in the funds, by which the interest of the national debt was reduced from four to three and a half per cent. for seven years, after which, it was to

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stand reduced to three per cent. This bold stroke of finance, afforded a demonstrative proof of the strength of the public credit, for the generality of the creditors of government, after a feeble and ineffectual opposition, continued their money in the funds, and a few, who sold out, soon endeavoured to have it replaced, on the same security.

During this long and prosperous reign, Great Britain had made a rapid progress in arts and sciences, in literature and commerce. Every art had been successfully cultivated; every branch of philosophy had been investigated; and every channel of commerce explored. The influx of wealth had been proportionable to the increase of trade; the opulence of the metropolis was beyond all former example, and the readiness with which loans were raised for the government, was almost incredible. The sum of eighteen, nineteen and twenty-two millions, raised in the years 1759, 1760, and 1761, respectively, by a few merchants of London, at a very short notice, displayed a degree of commercial opulence, which astonished all Europe.

George III. succeeding his grandfather, ascended the throne with all the qualifications that nature, education, and fortune, could bestow. He was then in the bloom of youth, possessing every personal accomplishment that could add lustre to a crown. His education had corresponded with his dignity, and the hopes of his subjects. Being a native of England, he gloried in the name of Englishman, and was master of their united affections. At the time of his accession, Britain had attained to the highest degree of military reputation, and to an extraordinary pitch of political prosperity. Her arms were successful in every quarter of the globe, while unanimity and harmony prevailed in her councils, and united her people. The subsequent revolutions, which have rendered the circumstances of this reign difficult and critical, beyond all example, cannot be minutely investigated and detailed, in this general view of the history of nations. It will suffice to remark their general result.

The vigorous methods, adopted by George III., at the commencement of his reign, soon convinced the public, that

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the operations of the war would not be relaxed by the death of his glorious predecessor. Accordingly, in 1761, the island of Belleisle, near the coast of France, was conquered by the troops and squadron under the command of commodore Keppel, and general Hodgson; and the important town and fortress of Pondicherry, the capital of the French settlements in India, surrendered to colonel Coote and admiral Stevens. The operations against their West India islands, were vigorously carried on, and in 1762, the island of Martinico, with those of St. Lucia, Grenadillas, St. Vincent, and others of inferiour note, surrendered to the British arms.

While the naval and military armaments of Great Britain were thus reducing the enemy's settlements in every part of the world Mr. Pitt had obtained so particular information of the hostile designs of Spain that he proposed in coucil an immediate declaration of war against that kingdom; but his opinion was over-ruled, and the minister shortly after resigning the seals retired with a pension of 3000*l.* per annum, to be continued for three lives. The impulse already given to the political machine, however, still continued to act and the war was carried on with vigour. The successors of Pitt followed his advice. War was declared against Spain A. D. 1762. The strong important fortress of the Havanna in the isle of Cuba was after a gallant resistance obliged to surrender to the British forces commanded by admiral Pocock, and the earl of Albermarle. The loss of this important place, with the ships and treasure there taken from the Spaniards was followed by the reduction of Manilla by general Draper and admiral Cornish. Several rich captures were also made at sea by English cruziers, among which the cargo of the Hermoine a large register ship bound from Lima to Cadiz was valued at about 1,000,000*l.* sterling.

Spain as well as France being reduced to extreme distress, by a series of misfortunes, both had recourse to their last expedient, which was to attack Portugal, a country under the immediate protection of Great Britain. This measure considerably embarrassed the British government, which found itself under the necessity of preventing that kingdom from

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falling under the dominion of the enemy. At this time the negotiations for a peace were resumed. France and Spain were exhausted; and on the part of Great Britain the war was carried on at an enormous expense. A termination of hostilities was, therefore, agreeable to the wishes of all the belligerent powers; and in February 1763, a treaty of peace was concluded at Paris, between his Britanic majesty and the kings of France and Spain, to which the king of Portugal acceded. The principal articles of this treaty were, the confirmation to Great Britain of the islands of Nowfoundland, Cape Breton, and St John, with the extensive province of Canada, and all that France had hitherto possessed in North America on that side of the Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans with a small adjacent district; the restitution of the islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe &c. to France; and of Cuba and Manilla to Spain. Other articles of inferior importance were, the cession of the islands of Genada, and the Grenadillas, to Great Britain, in compensation for those of St. Pierre and Miquelon, ceded to France. Great Britain and France, likewise mutually resigned their pretensions to the neutral islands: the former to that of St. Lucia, and the latter to those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago. France restored Minorca, in exchange for Belleisle; and in Germany, the war was concluded on the principle of mutual restitution; after a sum of 30,000,000*l.* had been expended by Britain, and not less by France, and six years spent in marches, and countermarches, battles and skirmishes. Thus terminated a war, the most glorious of all those recorded in the annals of Britain.

The period which followed the peace of Paris, was one of the most happy that can be met with in the history of any country. The jarring of parties, and the frequent changes in the ministry, do not properly enter into the plan of this general summary of events which have an important effect on the state of nations. Omitting, therefore, the affair of Mr. Wilkes, and other transactions, which in 1764, were the topics of the day, but now excite little interest; as well as the bickerings with Spain, on the subject of Falkland islands, now almost forgotten, we shall pass on to the great contest, in which Bri-

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tain was so long enagaged with her colonies; and which gave rise to a new empire on the American continent.

The subject of dispute between the colonies and parent state was, whether the British parliament had a right to impose taxes on the Americans, who were unrepresented therein, and had hitherto been accustomed to be taxed solely by their representatives. This question, which at that time exercised so many able pens, is now of little importance: we shall therefore only observe, that the determined resolution of the Americans to resist parliamentary taxation in every shape, and the equally firm determination of Great Britain to maintain her supremacy over her colonies, brought on a war between the two countries, which lasted from 1775 till 1783. The particulars will be given in the history of America. We shall here only relate such events, as more properly belong to the history of England, than to that of the American revolution.

A war with the great naval powers of Europe, was the consequence of the war with the colonies: the latter received considerable supplies of arms and ammunition from France. The French court regarded this critical juncture, as a favourable opportunity for lessening the power of Great Britain. A treaty of alliance was therefore concluded at Paris, between France and the thirteen United Colonies, for "maintaining effectually their liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute, and unlimited, in matters of government, as well as of commerce."

The fatal tendency of the American war, began now to be generally seen; and some plan of accommodation appeared necessary. The earl of Carlisle, William Eden, and George Johnstone, esquires, were appointed commissioners from his majesty, to settle the disputes between Great Britain and the Colonies, and in the month of June 1778, arrived at Philadelphia: but the time for reconciliation was now past; and the Congress refused to enter into any treaty, except on the basis of independence. The conduct of France towards Great Britain in thus supporting the colonies, caused hostilities to take place between the two nations. On the 27th of June,

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1778, an engagement took place off Brest, between the English fleet, under the command of admiral Keppel, and that of France commanded by the count d'Orvilliers. The former consisted of thirty, and the latter of thirty-two sail, of the line; but the action, although it continued three hours, was undecisive, not one ship being taken on either side. On the 17th of October, the same year, Pondicherry surrendered to the English, as did also soon after the island of Dominica, in the West Indies; but the year following, the French captured St. Vincent and Grenada.

Spain being at length brought to take a part in the war, her naval force was added to that of France, and their combined fleets seemed, for a while, to ride triumphant in the British channel: but after parading some days in the channel, they returned to their ports. On the 8th of January, sir George Bridges Rodney captured seven Spanish ships of war, with a number of trading vessels under their convoy; and soon after, the same admiral defeated, near Cape St. Vincent, another Spanish fleet of eleven sail of the line, commanded by Don Juan de Langara. Many other naval engagements of inferior importance, took place in different parts of the world; but on the 8th of August 1780, the combined fleets of France and Spain, gave a severe blow to the commerce of Great Britain, by the capture of five English East Indiamen, and fifty sail of merchant ships, bound for the West Indies.

The year 1780 was distinguished by a disgraceful scene of fanaticism and insubordination. An act of parliament had been previously passed for relieving persons, professing the Roman Catholic religion, from certain penalties, imposed on them in the eleventh and twelfth years of the reign of William and Mary. This act had unanimously passed through both houses; it being the general opinion of liberal-minded men of all parties, that the laws against the Roman Catholics were much too severe, and that in an age in which the principles of toleration were so well understood, they were a disgrace to the statute books. At the first it seemed to give little offence to persons of any description, in England; but in Scotland, although it did not extend to that kingdom, it ex-

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cited great indignation, and roused that latent spirit of fanaticism, which exists more or less among the populace of every country. The contagion of bigotry being at length communicated to England, a number of persons assembled together, and formed a body under the title of the "Protestant association." The avowed object of this association was to prefer a petition to parliament, in order to obtain a repeal of the act passed in favour of the Catholics. Its members were persons of different sects, of the lowest orders of society, and chiefly distinguished by their fanaticism. They became very numerous; and being invited, by a public advertisement, to meet in St. George's Fields, not less than 50,000 persons are said to have assembled there on the 2d of June. From thence they proceeded, with blue cockades in their hats, to the house of commons, where their petition was presented by lord George Gordon, whom they had elected their president. As soon, however, as they arrived at their place of destination, and had crowded all the avenues to both houses of parliament, they began to exercise the authority which they supposed themselves to derive from their numbers, by treating the members, especially of the house of peers, with the utmost indignity; and even putting the lives of some of them in danger. The commons, notwithstanding the dangers which menaced them, continued immoveable in their determination to oppose the petition.

In the evening, a mob assembled, and demolished two Roman Catholic chapels. Thirteen of the rioters were taken; five of whom were committed to Newgate, under a military escort. On Sunday the mob reassembled, and the number of rioters was so increased, that they were soon beyond all control. During several succeeding days, the metropolis seemed to be at the mercy of lawless hordes of banditti, and exhibited a spectacle of calamity and horror. Besides a number of Roman Catholic chapels and schools, dwelling houses, belonging to persons of that persuasion, the houses of lord Mansfield, Sir John Fielding, and several others, were demolished; and all the valuable household furniture of Sir George Saville was destroyed. The prisons were forced

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open; and the prisoners, more than 300 in number, were liberated. An attack on the bank, that great support of public credit and national commerce, was also meditated; but it was so well guarded, as to bid defiance to any effort of popular fury. The great gaol of Newgate; the prisons of the King's-bench and the Fleet; the New Bridewell in St. George's Fields; a very large distillery in Holborn; with a number of private houses, all in a state of conflagration, presented spectacles horrible beyond description. It is said that the fires were seen blazing in thirty-six different parts of the city at once. All business was at a stand, and all property insecure. At last, all men began to see the necessity of vigorous measures, to prevent universal destruction. Large bodies of troops were brought from different parts of the country to the metropolis, and a stop was put to these ravages. Great numbers of the rioters were killed; and, many being apprehended, suffered death as felons. Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower, and tried for high treason, but acquitted. The public tranquillity was by these means restored; and, on the 8th of June, the general consternation began to subside. Had not the most decisive measures been adopted, and the military force called upon to act on this urgent occasion, it is highly probable, that the grandeur of Britain would have been buried under the ruins of her metropolis. It would certainly be very unjust, to impute to the Protestant association, all the mischiefs that attended this exhibition of bigotry; or to suppose that its members either designed, or foresaw, the calamities which they occasioned; but their conduct was diametrically opposite to the spirit of genuine and enlightened protestantism, of which liberty of conscience is the fundamental principle, and the basis on which it stands.

The internal tranquillity of the kingdom was no sooner restored, than the number of its former enemies was increased by the rupture with Holland. This was occasioned by the clandestine trade carried on between the Dutch and the Americans; by which the latter were supplied with military stores. The war against Holland commenced with great vigour, and that republic soon received a severe blow, in the loss of the

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island of St. Eustatius, which was taken by the English, February 2, 1781. On the 5th of August following, a bloody engagement also took place off the Doggerbank, between an English squadron, under the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker, and a Dutch squadron commanded by admiral Zoutman. Both fought with great bravery and both sides claimed the victory. In other parts, hostilities were carried on with little success on the side of England. The French made themselves masters of Tobago, and the Spaniards acquired the possession of Pensacola. January 14, 1782, the French took the island of Nevis. On the 5th of February, Minorca was, after a vigorous defence, surrendered to the Spaniards, and on the 13th, the island of St. Christopher was given up to the French. Jamaica would also very probably have shared the same fate, had not the British fleet, under admiral Rodney, fallen in with that of France, commanded by the count de Grasse, on its way to join the Spanish fleet at St. Domingo: the van of the French being too far advanced to support their centre, the English gained a complete victory. Since the famous battle off La Hogue, the French had not received so complete, and so ruinous a defeat, as on this occasion. One of their ships of the line was sunk in the engagement, and five were taken, among which was the admiral's ship, the famous Ville de Paris. This ship, which was a present from the city of Paris to the king, is said to have cost the enormous sum of 176,000*l.* sterling. She carried 110 guns, and had on board, at her departure from Martinique, 1,300 men, including marines and land forces. Thirty-six chests of money, intended for the pay and subsistence of the troops destined for the invasion of Jamaica, were also found in this ship, and the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon, and travelling carriages, happened to be on board of the captured vessels.

But no part of the theatre of this eventful war, exhibited a scene more tremendous than Gibraltar, which had, almost from the commencement of hostilities with the Spaniards, been closely besieged by their forces. On the memorable 13th of November, 1782, the grand attack was made by the

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Spaniards, with ten floating batteries, of bomb proof construction, mounting 212 brass twenty-six pounders, in the hulks of ships, of from 600 to 1,400 tons. Princes of the blood, and persons of the first families, and most distinguished name, both in Spain and France, appeared as volunteers in this formidable attack, projected by the Chevalier d'Arcon, a French engineer of great eminence, and which was planned with consummate skill, as its execution was also attempted with extraordinary courage and resolution. Early in the morning, the floating batteries came forward; and, having anchored in a line very little more than half a mile from the shore, began a heavy cannonade, which was succeeded by all the cannon and mortars in the enemy's lines and approaches. At the same time, the garrison opened all its batteries, not only with cold, but with red hot balls from the guns, and with shells from the howitzers and mortars. A most tremendous fire continued, without the least intermission on either side, until noon, when that of the assailants began somewhat to slacken. About two in the afternoon, the largest of the floating batteries were perceived to be on fire; and before that time in the succeeding morning, the whole of them were in flames and soon consumed. The humanity of the English, displayed in their active and successful exertions to save their perishing enemies, redounded not less to the honour of the national character, than the bravery which they had shewn in repelling their attack.

After the destruction of the floating batteries, Gibraltar might still, from the want of ammunition and provisions, be considered in danger; but admiral lord Howe removed all cause of apprehension. His lordship sailed from Portsmouth, with thirty-four sail of the line, for the relief of that important place, and having accomplished his object, in the very face of the combined fleet of the enemy, which, although superior in number by twelve ships of the line, declined an engagement, all their hopes of reducing Gibraltar, by blockade, were extinguished.

Notwithstanding these victories, a series of losses, and particularly the capture at Yorktown, in the state of Virginia,

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of the whole force under lord Cornwallis, which surrendered as prisoners of war, to the number of 7,247, constituted an aggregate of misfortunes which greatly agitated the public mind. The capture of lord Cornwallis put a final period to the hopes of those who had flattered themselves with the prospect of subjugating the Colonies by military force; and the surrender of this second army, may be considered as the closing scene of the American war. Views of national advantage no longer afforded any hopes of compensation, and the object of the war appeared to be unattainable. Accordingly, on the 1st March, 1782, the House of Commons addressed his majesty, requesting him to put a stop to any further prosecution of the war against the Colonies. This important event diffused universal joy throughout the kingdom.

The king took the most effectual measures for putting an end to the evils to which the nation, without a single ally, was exposed, in an expensive war with France, Spain, Holland, and America. Mr. Grenville was invested with full powers to treat, at Paris, with all the belligerent parties; and was also directed to propose, in the first instance, the independence of the American States. On the 30th of November, 1782, the preliminaries of a general peace were settled. By the definitive treaty, founded on these, Great Britain ceded to France all her possessions previous to the war, together with the island of Tobago, in the West Indies. Britain also agreed to restore the islands of St. Lucia, St. Pierre, and Miquelon. France, on the other hand, restored to Great Britain, the islands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, St. Christopher's, St. Vincent, Dominica, Nevis, and Montserrat. To Spain, Great Britain ceded Florida.

In the treaty with the thirteen United States of America, their independence was acknowledged, and their boundaries were accurately ascertained and distinguished.

These terms of peace were disapproved by many; but, it ought to be considered, that Great Britain stood singly, not only against America, but also against the three great naval powers of Europe; and, that had the war continued,

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1,000,000*l.* per annum must have been added to the current taxes, and 25,000,000*l.* to the public debt. It appears, therefore, that the government consulted the true interest of the country, in terminating a contest which no longer held out any prospect of national advantage, to compensate so great a profusion of blood and of treasure.

In the year 1786, was ended the remarkable trial of Warren Hastings, late governor general of Bengal, on sundry charges of high crimes and misdemeanors. In this business, Mr. Burke took the lead, and carried it forward with great display of eloquence, and labour of inquiry. After a trial, which lasted seven years and three months, and occupied a considerable portion of eight sessions of Parliament, Mr. Hastings was acquitted, in the most honourable manner, of all the charges brought against him. Another great object of parliamentary attention was the Slave trade, which had, unfortunately, been so long carried on by England, and other European nations, for the use of the West India islands. This traffic, so abhorrent to the dictates of nature,—to the benevolent principles of Christianity,—and to the refinement of modern manners, does not appear, before this time, to have been considered with attention. But about this period, the cause became extremely popular: from the pulpit, and the press, the public voice pleaded the cause of humanity; petitions were presented to the legislature from the two universities, and from several of the principal towns of the kingdom, and his majesty's ministers thought it proper to institute an inquiry into the facts and allegations, exhibited in the representations of the parties. A bill was, in consequence, brought forward by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Dolbin, and others, for regulating the mode of transporting African slaves to the British West India Islands.

It appeared in the course of these investigations, that the negroes, hitherto, had been so crowded on board the slave ships, that, according to the lowest computation, one person in twenty perished, in a voyage of six weeks. Such was the destructive nature of this trade, under the most favourable circumstances; but, in voyages to the more distant parts of Africa,

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the mortality was twice as great. By a bill, which was now passed, the number of slaves, to be carried in any ship, was regulated according to its tonnage, allowing nearly one ton to each man. This act of the British legislature, was calculated for the preservation, both of the slaves, and the seamen employed in this traffic. Since that time, the subject has been repeatedly brought forward, and treated, in both houses, with the most humane attention. Humanity has at length triumphed, in the abolition of this inhuman and disgraceful traffic.

The year 1788, being the hundredth anniversary of the important revolution of 1688, was distinguished by demonstrations of joy, which shewed that the nation had not forgotten the benefits accruing from that glorious event. The 4th of November being the birth day of king William, and the 5th, the anniversary of his landing, were celebrated in London, and other parts of the kingdom, with great festivity, as well as with demonstrations of gratitude to Providence. This was indeed, a period of public felicity. During five years of peace, commerce had exceedingly flourished, and Britain had regained her former superiority in the scale of opulence, and power.

In the midst of this prosperity, the public tranquillity was endangered from a quarter exceedingly remote. A factory had been established at Nootka Sound, on the west coast of North America, which, by furnishing a valuable supply of furs for the Chinese market, promised to be the source of a lucrative commerce. But, in the month of May, 1789, M. Martinez, commander of a Spanish ship of war, took possession of the settlement in the name of the king of Spain, and also of the Iphigenia, the only English vessel then trading at that place. Others which successively arrived there, were treated in the same manner; the vessels and cargoes being seized, and the crews made prisoners. An attention to the honour of the country, made it necessary that the British ministry should call on the court of Spain for satisfaction. After great preparations for war on both sides, the affair was amicably adjusted; the limits of the Spanish boundaries as-

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certained; and the right of Great Britain as to trade, and colonization, at Nootka Sound, diplomatically acknowledged, by a convention between their Britannic and Catholic majesties, concluded on the 22d of November, 1790.

The cause of toleration received the same year an accession of strength, which must be peculiarly grateful to the friends of religious freedom. In the unhappy ages of ignorance, superstition, and bigotry, the fanatical fury of a mistaken zeal, arming sects and parties one against another, obliged even the most moderate to stand on the defensive. From this consideration originated those penal laws, which in almost all Protestant, as well as Catholic countries, have been enacted against dissenters from the established religion. Happily these times are no more. In the first ages of reformation, the church of Rome flourishing in all the plentiude of power, and enforcing her authority by all the rigours of persecution, was the grand object of terror; and the English nation, acting on a principle of self-defence, saw, or thought she saw, the necessity of adopting decisive measures to repel the efforts of papal despotism. The penal laws, which in those times of difficulty and danger, had been enacted against the Roman Catholics, are not to be considered as directed against the speculative doctrines of their religion, but against the introduction of the arbitrary power of the papal see. The circumstances of the times, and the ideas of men, have since undergone a gradual, but complete revolution. The temporal power of the pope is annihilated in countries professing his religion; and, even his spiritual supremacy is acknowledged as a matter of prescription, rather than an article of faith. During the course of the year 1790, a large body of Catholic dissenters had formally protested against the temporal power of the pope, and particularly against his assumed authority of releasing men from civil obligations, or granting dispensations for the violation of oaths. The causes which gave rise to the penal laws against Roman Catholics no longer existing, these laws began, in this enlightened age, to be considered as a disgrace to the country. Mr. Mitford, on the 21st of January 1791, moved for leave to bring in a bill, under certain condi-

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tions and restrictions, for the relief of Catholic dissenters. The bill passed through both houses, without any material opposition, and without giving the least offence to any respectable class of the people.

About this time, when the French revolution had not yet shewn itself in its true colours, when its doubtful aspect gave rise to a variety of discussions, and to much heat and party spirit, the opulent town of Birmingham exhibited a scene of violence and disorder. The most dreadful outrages were committed by a mob of ungrateful persons, who considering all sectaries as enemies to the state. The occasion was given by a festive meeting, held on thursday the 14th of July, in commemoration of the French revolution: a practice then prevalent in many large towns of Great Britain. In the evening a mob assembled and demolished the windows in the front of the hotel. The rioters then set fire to Dr. Priestly's new meeting house. After this they proceeded to his dwelling house, where they destroyed his valuable philosophical apparatus, with his manuscripts and papers. The next day this infatuated multitude demolished the elegant mansion of Mr. Ryland, where finding a great stock of liquor, a tumultuous scene of intoxication ensued, and several rioters perished in the cellars by drunkenness, or by the falling in of the roof. The adjacent neighbourhood also experienced the effects of their fury. The country residence of Mr. Taylor; the houses of Mr. Hutton, the historian of Birmingham; of Mr. Humphrey, and several others were destroyed by the mob, who continued their depredations till sunday night, when three troops of light dragoons arrived, and put an end to the riot. Fifteen of the unfortunate wretches who were taken in the act of rioting, were tried at Warwick and Worcester; of these five were found guilty, and received sentence of death.

Great Britain had now for several years, exhibited a complete picture of political and commercial prosperity. Enjoying all the blessings of peace, her trade was extended; her manufactures improved, and multiplied; her wealth increased; and her credit augmented. Several voyages of circumnavigation, and discovery had been performed; and geogra-

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phical knowledge was greatly extended. Arts, and sciences had made an extraordinary progress. In this happy situation, Britain was threatened with danger of a most tremendous magnitude. The ancient government of France was subverted, and a revolution of an extraordinary nature effected in that country. A military republic had been established, which threatened the subjugation of Europe; and revolutionary principles were making a rapid progress in every part of the continent, and also in great Britan. In this critical state of affairs, the British government conceived it necessary to take an active part against a power, which threatened the subversion of all the political and religious institutions of Europe. A war with the French republic was therefore resolved on, and commenced with vigour.

The British administration had now two great objects, which required its attention: the prosecution of the war abroad, and the extinction of revolutionary principles at home. Divers persons were accused of treasonable, or of seditious practices. In Scotland, Thomas Muir, esq. and Mr. Palmer, Unitarian clergymen, were tried and condemned to be transported; the former for fourteen, and the latter for seven years. Both these, with several others, were sent to Botany Bay. Mr. Palmer died on his passage home, after the expiration of his term; but Mr. Muir found means to make his escape, in an American vessel, to Nootka Sound, from whence, after a variety of extraordinary adventures, he reached France, and died at Paris. In England Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Thelwall, and several others, were tried on a charge of high treason and acquitted. Their acquittals prove the excellence of a government, under which justice is impartially administered.

On the 14th of February, the British squadron, under the command of Sir John Jervis, gained a signal victory over a Spanish fleet of much superor force. In this important action, which took place off Cape St. Vincent, the British admiral, having, by a successful manœuvre, cut off the communication between the rear and the centre of the enemy's fleet, captured two ships of 112, one of 84, and one of 74 guns.

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This year was distinguished by an event unprecedented in the annals of Great Britain. About the middle of April, a most alarming mutiny broke out on board the grand fleet, at Spithead, under the command of lord Bridport. The sailors required an advance of their pay, with certain new regulations relative to the allowance of provisions, and appointed delegates, who had, for several days, the entire command of the fleet. In this critical state of affairs, government deemed it expedient to accede to their demands, on which they returned to their duty. But, in consequence of some parliamentary debates, relating to an act of indemnity, for the security of those who had been concerned in the mutiny, they again deprived the officers of their authority, and the affair seemed to assume a still more menacing aspect. A bill, securing to the seamen the concessions which had been made, was therefore hastily passed; and lord Howe, acting as mediator, the delegates declared themselves fully satisfied, and order was restored on board the Channel fleet. The ferment, however, continued in other parts of the navy, and the spirit of insurrection among the seamen appeared to be contagious. Almost all the ships of admiral Duncan's fleet appointed delegates, and sailed away from Yarmouth Roads, to join the ships at Sheerness, which were in a similar state of mutiny. New grievances were required to be redressed; and, extravagant concessions being made, government was convinced that a compliance with their further demands would only encourage a repetition of similar proceedings. Vigorous measures were therefore adopted, and dispositions were made for reducing the refractory seamen to submission. All communication was cut off between the fleet and the shore, in order to deprive them of any supplies of provisions or water. The mutineers, in consequence, detained all vessels coming up the Thames, and took out of them whatever they wanted, for which the delegates, of whom the chief was Richard Parker, gave drafts on the Treasury, as taken for the use of the navy of Great Britain. At length, being reduced to great distress, for want of water, and dissentions prevailing among them, several ships left the mutinous fleet, and surrendered themselves at Sheerness.

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Some of these escaped under a heavy fire from the others, but at length they all came in, and gave up their delegates, who, with several other leaders of the mutiny, were tried by a court martial. Some of them were executed, others sentenced to different punishments, and the rest received their pardon. Richard Parker, who had acted as admiral of the fleet while in a state of mutiny, was executed.

Tranquillity being thus restored, the stain of this disgraceful affair was soon wiped wiped off from the character of the British seamen. Admiral Duncan, whose fleet consisted principally of the ships concerned in the mutiny, sailed to watch the motions of the Dutch fleet in the Texel; and, after keeping it for some time blockaded, at last, on its venturing out, engaged it and gained a complete victory. The Dutch admiral de Winter, with the vice admiral, and nine of their ships, were taken. Admiral Duncan was, in consequence of this splendid action, created viscount Duncan.

The French now began openly to threaten the invasion of England. The winter was spent in the most formidable preparations. Numerous armies were collected on the French coast, and, while the people of England were amused with a variety of idle tales, relative to the preparations said to be making in the ports of the republic, the British ministry, though convinced of the impracticability of any serious invasion, took every necessary precaution for repelling any desultory attacks.

In the mean while, the directory of France changed its plans, and directed all its views towards Egypt, a country which offered a much easier conquest. On the first intelligence of the sailing of the French armament from Toulon, admiral Nelson was despatched in pursuit of the hostile fleet. Having received a reinforcement of ten sail of the line, and suspecting the enemy's destination, he sailed for Egypt, and, on the coast of that country, found the object of his search. The French army was landed, and the fleet, consisting of the admiral's ship, L'Orient, of 120 guns, and above 1000 men, three of 80 guns each, and nine of 74, was at anchor in the bay of Aboukir. They were drawn up near the shore, in

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a strong and compact line of battle, flanked by four frigates and a number of gun boats, and protected in the van by a battery erected on a small island. The British admiral, notwithstanding the advantageous position of the enemy, immediately made dispositions for the attack. In the number of ships of the line his force was equal to that of the French. The first object of the admiral was to break the line of the French, and surround a part of their fleet. The engagement commenced about sun set, and was carried on by both parties with undaunted courage and resolution. While the issue of the contest was yet undecided, the French admiral, de Brueys, received two wounds, and was soon after killed by a cannon shot. At the end of two hours two of the enemy's ships had struck; their capture was soon after followed by that of a third, and the whole van was in the power of the English. About nine at night, L'Orient was observed to be on fire, and the flames increased, with inconceivable rapidity, till ten, when she blew up with a tremendous explosion. An awful pause and silence succeeded, during the space of about three minutes, when the wreck of the masts, yards, &c. fell into the water, and on board the surrounding ships. After this dreadful scene, the engagement was continued at intervals till day break, and terminated in one of the most decisive victories recorded in the annals of the British navy. Out of thirteen sail of the line, of which the French fleet consisted, only two, with two frigates, escaped capture or destruction. Nine sail of the line were taken, and one, besides L'Orient was burned.

In a short time after this signal victory, which gave to the British fleet the entire command of the Mediterranean, a French squadron consisting of one ship of the line, called La Hoche, and eight frigates, having troops and ammunition on board, was defeated, off Ireland, by Sir John Borlase Warren. The action took place on the 12th of October. It commenced at half past seven in the morning, and about eleven La Hoche struck, after a gallant defence. The frigates attempted to escape, but six of them were taken, so that the whole fleet, two frigates excepted, fell into the hands

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of the English. To complete the successes of the year, the island of Minorca surrendered, on the 15th of November, to general Stuart and commodore Duckworth.

In the month of August, 1799, the fort of New-Amsterdam, and the town of Paramaribo, the capital of the Dutch settlement of Surinam, surrendered, by capitulation, to lord Hugh Seymour, and lieutenant general Trigge, without making any resistance. But the principal military enterprise, that employed the arms of Great Britain, in the course of this year, was the unfortunate expedition to Holland.

The object of this undertaking was to rescue the Batavian republic from the power of the French; and the army sent for that purpose consisted of 30,000 British troops, who were joined in Holland by 17,000 Russians, in the pay of England. The first division of this armament, under general Abercrombie, sailed on the 13th of August, for the Helder-point, at the entrance of the Texel; but the troops could not, until the morning of the 27th, effect a landing at the place of their destination. The French and Dutch troops evacuated the batteries and works at the Helder, and seven Dutch ships of war, with thirteen Indiamen, surrendered to the English fleet. After this success, the British admiral Mitchel, immediately stood down into the Texel, where the whole of the Batavian fleet, consisting of twelve ships of war, surrendered without resistance, the seamen refusing to fight, and compelling their officers to give up their ships for the service of the prince of Orange. On the 13th of September, the duke of York, with the second division, arrived in Holland, and took the command of the army; and on the 19th his royal highness attacked the enemy. The British troops obtained considerable advantages, and succeeded in carrying some strongly fortified posts; but the Russians were repulsed with great loss, and their generals, D'Herman, and Tchertchekoff, were made prisoners. The English lost in this engagement near 2000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Russians between 3000 and 4000, but the loss of the French and Dutch was still greater, as above 3000 of them were made prisoners, among whom were sixty officers. The British army, however,

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soon recovered from the effects of this check, and on the 2d of October, his royal highness, after a well fought action of twelve hours, compelled the enemy to retreat, and took possession of Alkmaar. But imperious circumstances precluded any further progress, and soon rendered it expedient to withdraw the troops from their position, and an armistice was concluded, of which the principal condition was, that the combined English and Russian army should evacuate the territory of the Batavian republic, before the 30th of November ensuing, without committing any devastations. Such was the termination of an expedition prepared at an immense expense, and commenced with such brilliant success.

The new revolution which took place in the government of France, in the month of November, and raised general Buonaparte to the sovereign authority, under the title of first consul, seemed favourable to the interests of peace. On the very day on which the first consul entered on his new dignity, he made overtures to his Britannic majesty for a general pacification, but the British government did not show a disposition to enter on a negotiation.

In the next campaign however, Austria, which had ventured again to try the fortune of a war, in the hopes of being powerfully supported by Russia, saw herself abandoned by that ally, and the fatal battle of Marengo obliged the court of Vienna to agree to an armistice, which was concluded between the French and Austrian generals, about the end of the year 1800. Thus Great Britain was again left without any allies, except such as were unable to afford her assistance. Before the end of the year, she even saw some of her former friends converted into determined enemies. The emperor of Russia, Paul I. disappointed in his views of obtaining possession of Malta, withdrew himself from the coalition, and formed a league with Sweden and Denmark, against England. On the 16th of December 1800, the convention of the northern powers was signed at St. Petersburg. Its ostensible object was to support the independence of the seas against the pretensions of the British flag, on the principle that, "free vessels make free goods." The court of Berlin acceded to this convention;

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and to render the hostility against England as extensive as possible, Paul formed an alliance with France, and laid his injunctions on Portugal, and Naples, to shut their ports against British vessels, under pain of his displeasure.

Such was the posture of affairs at the end of the year 1800. The year 1801 commenced with the conclusion of the treaty of peace between France and Austria, on the 9th of February at Luneville, and with a change in the British ministry. Mr. Pitt, after an administration of seventeen years, gave in his resignation, which was followed by that of most of his colleagues. The ostensible motive of the minister for resigning his office, was his inability to effect the emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland, which was one of the great objects of his political views.

The military views of the British government were this year directed to two important objects, the dissolution of the northern confederacy, and the expulsion of the French from Egypt. In order to prevent the active co-operation of Denmark with the designs of Russia, a fleet of seventeen sail of the line, three frigates, &c. under the command of admirals sir Hyde Parker, and lord Nelson, was dispatched to the Baltic. This armament having triumphantly passed the Sound, appeared before Copenhagen, where the most formidable dispositions had been made. Before the city was stationed an armed flotilla consisting of ships of the line, galleys, fire ships, and gunboats, flanked, and supported by tremendous batteries on the Crown Islands. The attack was made on the armed flotilla, by a division of the British fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, and four frigates, commanded by admiral Nelson. The action continued four hours, and was dreadfully bloody and destructive. The Danes after displaying the most determined courage, and resolution, lost eighteen of their ships among which were seventeen of the line, and about 2,000 of the best seamen. Eleven of the Danish ships fell into the hands of the English. The humanity of lord Nelson, who proposed a cessation of arms, put an end to this sanguinary contest, and an attack on Copenhagen was prevented by the conclusion of an armistice. After this signal suc-

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cess the British fleet immediately proceeded up the Baltic; and on the 19th of April, appeared off the Swedish port of Carlscrona. But the difference between Great Britain and Sweden was adjusted without having recourse to hostilities.

The success of the British arms promised the speedy dissolution of the northern confederacy: but the death of the emperor of Russia, who expired suddenly in the night of 23d of March, immediately put an end to the affair. The day after his decease, his eldest son, Alexander, was proclaimed emperor, and from the moment of his accession, manifested a desire of terminating the dispute with Great Britain. Concessions were made by both parties, and a treaty of peace was concluded between the courts of St. Petersburg, and St. James, to which Denmark and Sweden acceded.

While the flag of Great Britain was triumphant in the Baltic, her standard was successfully displayed on the banks of the Nile. It was deemed of the utmost importance to the security of the British empire in India, not to leave the French in possession of Egypt; a formidable armament was, therefore, sent out from England, to effect their expulsion. Admiral lord Keith, and general sir Ralph Abercrombie, had the command of the expedition. The land forces consisted of 16,000 men, with whom a body of troops from India, was to co-operate by the isthmus of Suez. On the 1st of March 1801, the British fleet arrived off Alexandria, and on the 8th the troops effected a landing under a heavy fire of grape shot poured on them by the French, who occupied a strong position in their front. On the 12th the English attacked a division of the French, which was advantageously posted on a ridge between the canal of Alexandria, and the sea. After a severe conflict victory declared in favour of the English, whose loss was considerable. The operations of the army were carried on with great spirit and vigour, and on the 13th of March, was fought the memorable battle of Alexandria, at the distance of little more than three miles from that city. The French were commanded by general Menou, whose dispositions were excellent, but whose precipitancy in resolving on an attack was injudicious, as by that measure he lost all the advantages which

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he derived from his position. The action commenced in the morning before day light, by a false attack on the left of the English army. But the most vigorous efforts of the French were directed against the right flank of the British, which they endeavoured to turn. The attack was made with great impetuosity by the French infantry, sustained by a strong body of cavalry. The conflict was desperate, but the French were twice repulsed, and at length thrown into confusion. A column of their infantry, at the same time, attempted to penetrate the centre of the British army, but was repulsed and obliged to retreat. A corps of light troops, supported by infantry and cavalry, also advanced to keep in check the left of the English, which was the weakest part of their line. After an extremely obstinate contest, victory at last declared in favour of the English, who remained masters of the field with the loss of nearly 2000 men, in killed, wounded, and missing. The loss of the French was nearly double that number; and the famous invincibles are said to have been entirely cut off, except a very small number, who accepted quarter, and were made prisoners. Their standard also was taken. But the glory acquired by the British troops was dearly purchased by the loss of their general, who, in the heat of the action, received a wound in his thigh, of which he died. Never did a hero fall more gloriously; never was a commander more regretted by his army. General Moore also was dangerously wounded. One of the French generals was killed, and two others died in consequence of their wounds.

In consequence of the death of sir Ralph Abercrombie, general Hutchinson, on whom the command of the army devolved, succeeded to a difficult situation. Although the French had suffered a defeat, they had lost no ground: the whole of Egypt was still in their possession, and they occupied several strongly fortified posts. The British general, however, gallantly completed the works which his predecessor had begun. His object was the conquest of Alexandria, and in order to facilitate the blockade of that city, it was found necessary to cut through the famous canal, and let the waters of the sea into the lake Mareotis. In the mean time, the

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town and castle of Rosetta were taken by the English, who, in conjunction with the Turkish forces, proceeded to Rhamanie, and, after having defeated the enemy, made themselves masters of that place.

The British general having changed his plan of operations, postponed the reduction of Alexandria, and marched to Cairo. In the mean while, colonel Loyd, with a corps of troops from Bombay, crossing the desert from Suez, arrived, on the 10th of June, at the camp of the grand vizier. About the middle of June, general Hutchinson, with the British army, arrived in the vicinity of Cairo. The city being completely invested by the English, and Ottoman forces, and discontents prevailing among the troops of the garrison, the French general Belliard desired to capitulate. The terms agreed on were, that the French army in Cairo, with all the private property of the officers and men, should be conveyed in ships of the allied powers, and at their expense, to the nearest French ports of the Mediterranean; and, that general Menou, who commanded in Alexandria, should be at liberty to avail himself of this convention. The garrison of Cairo, including Greeks, Cophts, and Mamelukes, amounted to 13,672 men.

About the same time, general Baird, with the Indian army, arrived in the Red Sea, where he was joined by a small force from the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of sir H. Popham, sir Robert Curtis, and colonel Caruthers. The general, being informed of the state of affairs by admiral Blanket, who had brought the Bombay troops to Suez, landed, on the eighth of June, at Cossir, with 7,546 men, and from thence crossed the desert to Kinneh, a distance of 120 miles. From Kinneh, where they arrived on the 30th June, they proceeded to join the grand army.

The convention of Cairo not being acceded to by general Menou, the combined British and Ottoman armies commenced, on the 17th August, the siege of Alexandria. The French general held out till the 1st of September, when he agreed to surrender on conditions of the capitulation of Cairo. The garrison of Alexandria consisted of 10,523 men, French,

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Syrians, and Greeks, and the city was defended by 312 pieces of cannon, besides which, 77 were found on board the ships in the harbour. In the magazines, were 14,102 cartridges and 195,218 pounds of powder in barrels. Thus terminated this celebrated expedition, which eventuated in the expulsion of the French from Egypt.

The naval war did not, in the course of this year, produce many remarkable events. An important action, however, took place on the 12th July, between sir James Saumarez and a squadron of French and Spanish ships, of very superior force. Two Spanish ships of the line took fire and blew up, and the San Antonia, of 74 guns and 730 men, struck to the British. An expedition was also sent out, in the beginning of August, under admiral Nelson, for the purpose of destroying the French flotilla, at Boulogne. This attempt, however, like others of the kind, proved unsuccessful; and his lordship was obliged to retire with loss.

Peace being concluded between the great powers of the continent,—Austria, Russia, and France,—his Britannic majesty was desirous of extending the same blessing to his subjects. The dissolution of the northern confederacy, and the expulsion of the French from Egypt, had removed the chief obstacles to a general pacification. On the 1st of October, the preliminary articles of peace were signed at London, by lord Hawkesbury on the part of his Britannic majesty, and by M. Otto on the part of the French republic. Great Britain agreed to the restoration of all her conquests, except the islands of Trinidad and Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was to remain a free port. The island of Malta was to be restored to the knights, and Egypt to the Ottoman Porte. The territory of Portugal was to be maintained in its integrity. The French were to evacuate Rome and Naples, and the Newfoundland fishery was be placed on its former footing. On the 27th of March, 1802, the definitive treaty was concluded at Amiens, and the return of peace was celebrated throughout the kingdom with the greatest demonstrations of joy; but this sudden and pleasing calm was only a prelude to future storms. The universal satisfaction which

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the restoration of peace had diffused, was soon abated by circumstances which indicated a renewal of the war. The conduct of the First Consul afforded too much reason to conclude, that the tranquillity of Europe could not be of long duration. It became, therefore, requisite that Great Britain should provide for her own security. In conformity to the treaty of Amiens, the British conquests had been restored, with the single exception of Malta. But since the conclusion of that treaty, circumstances had arisen which had so altered the state of affairs, as to render the restoration of that island inconvenient to Great Britain, without some previous arrangements. Two of the principal powers, Russia and Prussia, had refused, or declined, to guarantee the possession of Malta to the knights. In these circumstances, therefore, the restoration of Malta to the knights, or to any other power not capable of defending the island, would, in the opinion of the British ministry, have been, in effect, to throw it into the hand of France.

The first consul, however, insisted on the immediate evacuation of the island by the British troops; and the demand was ushered in by a long series of complaints against the permission granted to the French princes, bishops, and other emigrants, to reside in England, as also against the scurrilous abuse which some of the English newspapers, and still more the "Courier François de Londres," "L'Ambigu," and other French papers, published at London, poured forth against the chief consul, and government of France. To these remonstrances the British government replied, that the expulsion of the emigrants, unless they were legally convicted of some crime, would be a flagrant violation of hospitality; and that his majesty would never make any concession that could, in the smallest degree, be dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of his kingdom. It was added, that the British courts of law took cognizance of libels against persons, in whose hands the administration of foreign governments were placed, as well as those against the magistracy of this kingdom; and, that all the protection which the laws and constitution of the realm would admit, should be

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given to every foreign government against such offences as might tend to disturb its tranquillity.

Scarcely fourteen months had elapsed since the treaty of Amiens, when hostilities were renewed. On the 23d of May an address, on the occasion, was moved in the British parliament, when a very great majority declared in favour of the war. In the mean while, the first consul ordered all the British subjects in the territories of the French and Batavian republics, to be arrested, and detained as prisoners of war. A French army, under general Mortier, at the same time, marched into Hanover, and took possession of that electorate. As it was now the plan of the first consul to cut off the British trade to the continent, one of his measures was to occupy the banks of the Elbe and the Weser. In consequence of this step, a British squadron was sent to blockade the mouths of those rivers.

But an invasion of Great Britain seemed to be the grand object of the first consul, who immediately began to make extensive preparations for that enterprise. All the ship and boat builders in France, from the age of sixteen to sixty, were put in a state of requisition, and a numerous flotilla began to be collected at Boulogne, while a formidable army was assembled in the vicinity. The British government, in the mean while, adopted the most prudent and vigorous measures for the defence of the kingdom. The tax on landed property and every species of income, was established almost without opposition: the amount of the war taxes was estimated at forty-four millions and a half, and the total of the ways and means at 30,687,782*l.* for Great Britain alone, including a loan of 10,000,000*l.* An act was passed, by which every able bodied man in the kingdom, from seventeen to fifty-five years of age, was to be enrolled and trained to arms. This "levy en masse" was divided into four different classes, which were to be called out in the order specified, in case of invasion. But the loyalty and spirit of the nation rendered it unnecessary to carry the act into execution. Volunteer corps were formed in every part of Great Britain, and above 300,000 men of all ranks and descriptions, offered themselves to support the in-

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dependence of their country: but in Ireland the case was very different.

On the 23d of July a most horrid conspiracy manifested itself in Dublin, where the chief justice of the king's bench, lord Kilwarden, and his nephew, the rev. Arthur Wolfe, were inhumanly murdered in Thomas street. But although the explosion was confined to Dublin, it was soon discovered that the plan of insurrection embraced the whole of Ireland, and prodigious quantities of pikes, hand grenadoes, bullets, and other instruments of destruction, as well as of bread, biscuit, porter, and other provisions, were found in the various depots, not only in the capital, but in different parts of the country. Throughout the whole of this unfortunate affair, both the regular troops, and the yeomanry, acted with great promptness and fortitude. The insurrection being happily quelled, every precaution was taken by government, and by the loyal part of the nation, to prevent its revival. The privy council issued a proclamation, exhorting the magistrates to join their exertions to those of the military, and offering a reward of 1,000*l.* for the detection of the murderers of lord Kilwarden. Bills were immediately passed in parliament for placing Ireland under martial law. The respectable class of Catholics, with the earl of Fingal at their head, came forward in the most loyal manner, expressing their detestation of these atrocities, and offering to government their utmost assistance. At the same time Dr. Troy, the Catholic archbishop of Dublin, published, and ordered to be read in the chapels of his diocese, a most loyal and affecting address to the Catholics, exhorting them to regularity and peace. By these prudent measures tranquillity was restored in Ireland. Some of the leaders suffered capitally. Among these was Robert Emmet, esq. who, being tried and convicted of high treason, was executed at Dublin. Several others of inferior rank, who were taken in arms, suffered the same fate.

The war, in the meanwhile, presented a scene of preparation, rather than of action. Along the coasts of the French and Batavian republics, above 300,000 men were dispersed in different stations. Great numbers of gun-boats were also

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in readiness, and incessant diligence was used to exercise the men in managing the boats, and working the guns. The first consul himself came to inspect the preparations on the coast. His squadrons, in the meanwhile, durst not venture out of port, and British fleets commanded the seas. But this season of general preparation produced few military events. The Dutch settlements of Demarara and Essequibo, however, were captured by the English; and attempts were made to destroy the French flotillas at Granville, Calais, and Boulogne; but the success of these enterprises did not answer the purpose intended.

At the close of the year 1803, the preparations, on both sides of the channel, were nearly completed. The preparations of France exhibited the most imposing appearance. The number of British volunteers amounted to near 380,000 completely trained and equipped, and animated with the most enthusiastic patriotism, and the total expense of their service to government, was not computed at more than a million sterling. The army of reserve mustered more than 36,000 men, and the volunteers of Ireland formed a body of near 83,000. Great Britain had 451 ships of war in commission, among which, 189 were of the line, and the number of seamen and marines was stated at 100,000. With these means of defence, Great Britain presented an invulnerable front to invasion.

The aspect of affairs at the commencement of the year 1804, remained nearly the same as in the preceding year. Preparations for invasion and resistance still continued, but while the hostile armies were separating by the channel, few military transactions could take place, to chequer this inactive scene of warfare. The English settlement of Gorce, on the African coast, was in the commencement of the year, captured by the French, but was shortly after re-taken. In the Indian seas, by the bravery and address of Captain Dance, a most valuable fleet of merchant ships, which consisted of fifteen of the Company's ships, and eleven country vessels, on board of which was laden property to the amount of a million and a half sterling, was saved to the nation.

The summer elapsed without any naval or military transac-

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tion of importance, except the surrender of Surinam to the British forces. In the autumn, an attempt was made to destroy the enemies' flotilla at Boulogne; but the ill planned enterprise, which has obtained the name of the "Catamaran project," was unsuccessful. Towards the close of the year, the flames of war were farther extended. In the existing circumstances of Europe, it was next to impossible that Spain should maintain her neutrality. The court of Madrid, having engaged by treaty to furnish the French republic with fifteen ships of the line, and 24,000 men, had rendered a war between England and Spain inevitable. But it was the interest of the latter, to avoid an open rupture, till the arrival of the treasure-ships from America. The British government, however, being aware of this intention, resolved on the immediate commencement of hostilities. On the 5th of October, the first engagement took place, off Cadiz, between commodore Moore, with four English frigates, and a Spanish squadron of the same number. During the action, one of the Spanish ships unfortunately blew up, and every person on board perished. The three others were taken, and found to be freighted chiefly with dollars. This act of hostility was followed by the king of Spain's declaration of war against England.

The state of affairs at the commencement of the year 1805, excited some faint hopes of the return of peace. Napoleon Bonaparte, now emperor of the French, addressed to his Britannic majesty a letter, bearing date 7th of January, expressing a desire of terminating the contest by a speedy and permanent peace. To this overture his majesty replied, that there was no object which he had more at heart, than to procure for his subjects the blessings of peace, founded on such a basis as would be consistent with the safety, and interests of his dominions; but that as these objects were closely connected with the general security, his majesty declined entering into any particular explanations, without previous communication with other powers.

All hopes of peace immediately vanished, and the war, assuming a new aspect, began to display the most active scenes,

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A stupendous political and military plan for resisting the exorbitant power of France, and restoring the independence of Europe, was formed by the British government, in conjunctionwith Austria, Russia, Sweden, and Naples. On the 11th of April 1805, a treaty was concluded at St. Petersburg, by which the confederated powers of the continent engaged to bring into the field a force of 500,000 effective men. Great Britain was to allow to the allied powers subsidies at the rate of 12*l.* 10*s.* per man, with the sum of 1,500,000*l.* to Austria, and the subsidy to be paid five months in advance. It was also agreed, that peace should not be concluded with France, but by the common consent of all the contracting parties. The plan of this coalition was well conceived, but through the precipitancy of the Austrians, the tardiness of the Russians, and the vigorous measures of the French emperor, it failed in the execution. After the Austrians had experienced a series of disasters, Vienna was obliged to open her gates to the French, and the fatal battle of Austerlitz completely dissolved this formidable confederacy.

The naval campaign, in the mean while, displayed a scene of equal activity with that of the continent. The blockading system though rigorously continued proved ineffectual. A French squadron of five ships of the line, having escaped from Rochefort, sailed to the West Indies, and, in the month of February, levied contribution on the British isles of Dominica, and St. Christopher. They also captured the vessels in Basseterre road, and, having sent them to Guadaloupe, returned safely to Europe. But on the 30th of March an armament of far greater force sailed from Toulon. This fleet commanded by admiral Villeneuve, consisted of eleven ships of the line, and several frigates with 10,000 land forces on board. The French admiral, after touching at Carthagena, proceeded to Cadiz, where he was reinforced by six Spanish ships of the line, and a number of frigates, under the command of admiral Gravina. This junction was no sooner effected, than the combined fleets stood out to sea with a strong easterly wind, and directed their course to the West Indies. Lord Nelson pursued them, but without effect, till four months had elapsed.

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In that period of time he had traversed the whole length of the Mediterranean, from his station off Toulon, to the mouth of the Nile, and back again to the Straits of Gibralter, and twice crossed the Atlantic; a performance unparalleled in naval history. On the 21st of October, about day light in the morning, the combined fleets were discovered off Cape Trafalgar. Nelson whose fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, immediately made the signal for the ships to bear up in two columns. The enemy's line consisting of eighteen French, and fifteen Spanish ships, formed a crescent convexing to the leeward. Before the action commenced, every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second a-head and astern, forming a kind of double line. The commander in chief, admiral Villeneuve, in the Bucentaure, was in the centre: the prince of Asturias bore admiral Gravina's flag, in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were placed promiscuously in the line without regard to order, or national squadron. The British admiral having previously determined on the mode of attack, and communicated it to the flag officers and captains, few signals were necessary. The fleet advanced in two columns, the windward being led on by lord Nelson, in the Victory, and that to the leeward by admiral Collingwood in the Royal Sovereign, while the enemy with great firmness and resolution, waited their approach. About noon the action began, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line, the commander in chief being the tenth ship from the van, the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzle of their guns, Both the French and Spaniards fought with a degree of bravery and skill that redounded greatly to their honour. But the attack proved irresistible. About three in the afternoon, several of the enemy's ships having struck, their line gave way. Admiral Gravina, with ten ships and some frigates, stood away towards Cadiz. The action terminated in the capture of nineteen ships of the line, two of which, the Santissima Trinidada and Santa Maria, were first rates. Admiral Villeneuve, the commander in chief, and the Spanish

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admirals Don Ignatio Maria D'Aliva, and Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros, were made prisoners. About the middle of the action Lord Nelson was wounded in the left breast, and in the space of an hour expired. He fell covered with glory, and expired in the arms of victory. At the moment of death he displayed the same greatness of mind that had marked his character through life.

In consequence of the death of Lord Nelson, admiral Collingwood took the command, and shewed himself worthy of his illustrious predecessor. The ruin of the hostile fleet might be considered as almost complete: no less than twenty ships were captured or destroyed, and most of those that reached Cadiz were rendered, for a long time, totally unfit for service. But amidst the carnage of war it is pleasing to contemplate an instance of humanity. Admiral Collingwood found such a number of wounded on board of the captured ships, that to alleviate their calamity, he transmitted to the governor of Andalusia a proposal, to commit them to the care of their country; the officers to be liberated on their parole, and the privates on assurance that they should not serve, till they had been regularly exchanged. The offer was gratefully accepted, and the Spanish governor, in return for this act of generosity, delivered up the English who had been wrecked on board some of the ships, with an offer of the hospitals to the wounded on board of the fleet, pledging the honour of the Spanish nation for their good treatment.

On the news of this brilliant victory, the sovereign and the nation concurred in bestowing honours and rewards on those who had rendered such important services to their country. Lord Nelson's funeral was solemnized with the greatest magnificence, and at the public expense. The titles of viscount and earl were conferred on his brother the rev. W. Nelson, a sum of money also was appropriated to the purchase of estates for the support of his dignity; and 2000*l.* per annum was voted to lady Nelson. Admiral Collingwood received a pension of 2000*l.* per annum, and was raised to the peerage. The order of the Bath, together with a pension, was conferred on the earl of Northesk. Other officers received rewards

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proportioned to their rank; and, by subscription, an immense sum of money was raised for the use of the wounded, and of the widows, orphans, and relatives of those who were slain in this memorable action.

Among the consequences of the battle of Austerlitz, and the peace, which Austria was obliged to conclude with France, the expulsion of his Sicilian majesty from Naples, was most intimately connected with the interests of Great Britain. On the very same day that peace between France and Austria was ratified, the emperor of the French issued a proclamation announcing, that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign. The crown of Naples was, therefore, conferred by the emperor on his brother Joseph Bonaparte, who, with a French army, immediately entered that kingdom, where he met with little opposition. The capital submitted on his approach, and the king was obliged to take refuge in Sicily, under the protection of the British squadron and troops. Gaeta, with a garrison of 9000 men, commanded by the prince of Hesse Philipstal, was the only fortress in the kingdom of Naples that made a vigorous resistance. A British squadron, under the command of Sir Sidney Smith, threw supplies of ammunition and provision into the place, under a tremendous fire of red hot shot, and, after affording this seasonable relief to the garrison, appeared before Naples, and soon after took possession of the island of Capri, which commands the entrance of the bay.

The fortress of Gaeta, after a glorious defence, was at last obliged to surrender. But the Calabrians submitted with reluctance, and, for some time, made desperate, although fruitless attempts to defend their country.

While the southern provinces of Naples were thus endeavouring to resist their new masters, an expedition was sent out from Sicily against the French in Calabria, which was conducted by major general sir John Stewart, a native of Scotland, commander of the British forces in Sicily. On the 4th of July was fought the celebrated battle of Maida. The advanced corps of both armies, having fired a few rounds at the

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distance of about a hundred yards, suddenly suspended their fire, and, in close compact order, and profound silence, advanced to charge each other, till their bayonets crossed. The French broke, and attempted to fly, but flight was then too late. The plain was covered with dead and wounded. After sundry attempts to rally, the French began precipitately to retire, leaving the field covered with wounded. Their loss was about 4000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. The loss of the English was comparatively small, amounting, as is said, to no more than 45 killed, and 282 wounded. Within the space of a month, the enemy was expelled from the upper and lower Calabria. All the forts on the coast, with the depots of military stores collected for the invasion of Sicily, fell into the hands of the victors. But the French, pouring in numerous bodies of fresh troops, recovered the two Calabrias, and the authority of the new sovereign was at length established throughout the whole kingdom of Naples. From that period, the operations of the British land and sea forces, in that quarter, were chiefly directed to the preservation of Sicily.

In the autumn of 1805, a respectable armament, under Sir Home Popham, and general Baird, sailed from Cork against the Cape of Good Hope. The expedition arrived on the 4th of January, in Table bay. After some skirmishes, but before decisive operations commenced, a flag of truce was sent to the British camp by the governor, and on the 10th of January the capitulation was signed. The whole loss of the English, in officers and privates, amounted to only 212 killed, wounded, and missing, exclusive of thirty-six drowned in landing.

About the same time that the Cape of Good Hope was added to the British conquests, an important victory was gained by admiral Duckworth, who commanded a squadron of seven sail of the line, and four frigates, in the West Indies. With this force he fell in with five French ships of the line, two frigates, and a corvette. An obstinate action ensued, and continued during the space of two hours. The

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result was, the capture or destruction of all the ships of the line of the enemy's squadron; three of them were taken, and the two others, of which one was the admiral's ship, L'Imperiale of 120 guns, were wrecked, and afterwards burned.

William Pitt, first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, died on the 23d of January, 1806, in the forty-seventh year of his age. He had been for some time in a declining state of health, and the disastrous issue of the continental confederacy is supposed to have preyed on his spirits, and aggravated his disorder. In this point of view, he may, therefore, be regarded as a martyr to his zeal for the glory of his country, and the independence of Europe. He was a man of firm purpose and disinterested principle. During an administration of twenty-two years, he was so far from having accumulated a fortune, that he was considerably involved in debt. If ambition were an ingredient in his character, it was the ambition of a great mind. His views were grand and extensive. As an orator he stood among those of the first grade; as a statesman, his name will be celebrated in the annals of Europe. His country shewed its respect for his memory, by making an appropriation for the payment of his debts, and parliament presented an address to the king, praying his majesty to direct that the remains of the minister should be interred at the public expense, and that a monument should be erected to his memory. In consequence of the death of Mr. Pitt, a total change took place in the ministry.

The amount of the ways and means brought forward by lord Henry Petty, the new chancellor of the exchequer, was 43,618,472*l.* and that of the expenditure 43,680,000*l.* for Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland.

Great Britain, in the mean while, saw the number of her enemies increase. On the 30th of January, the king of Prussia issued a proclamation, signifying his intention of taking possession of Hanover, according to a convention entered into with the French emperor, and on the 28th March the Prussian ports were ordered to be shut against the shipping and

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trade of Great Britain. In consequence of these hostile proceedings, his Britannic majesty issued orders for the blockade of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, and for the capture of Prussian vessels.

The slave trade carried on to the African coast, had long been a disgrace to the Christian name; but the first public notice that was taken of the affair, was in 1788, when Mr. Wilberforce introduced it as a subject of parliamentary attention. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and several other illustrious senators, interested themselves in the business. and the cause of the Africans gained ground in almost every succeeding session, till, at length, on the 11th of June, 1806, Mr. Fox had the glory of carrying, in the House of Commons, a resolution for the entire abolition of the slave trade. This bill was strenuously supported by Mr. Wilberforce, and all the members of administration, and was carried by a majority of 115 against 15. The steady perseverance of a few philanthropic individuals brought the parliament and nation over to the interest of oppressed humanity, and, as far as Great Britain was concerned, a foul reproach was wiped off from the Christian name.

About this time, sir Home Popham and general Beresford proceeded from the Cape of Good Hope, on an expedition against the Spanish settlements in South America, and, after a long and tedious passage, arrived on the 6th of June, at the mouth of the river La Plata. The British commanders fixed on Buenos Ayres as the object of attack. On the 28th of July, general Beresford, having learnt that most of the Spanish troops had abandoned the city, sent a summons to the governor, who immediately agreed to a capitulation, of which the principal articles were, security to religion, and to the persons and property of the inhabitants. The public treasure taken at Buenos Ayres amounted to 1,291,328 dollars.

An unexpected turn of affairs however, soon deprived the British empire of this important acquisition. Pueyredon, one of the citizens of Buenos Ayres, had the address to excite the people to a general insurrection. The town furnished about 10,000 men, variously armed, and almost the same number

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was collected in the country. The people occupied the tops of the houses and churches, and commanded not only the great square, but also the castle. General Beresford, therefore, finding it impossible to resist an armed multitude, possessing so great advantages, surrendered on the 12th of August, on condition that the garrison, after marching out with the honours of war, should be sent to England and exchanged.

Amidst the operations of the war, the public began to entertain some hopes of peace. A singular circumstance had opened the way to a negotiation, which was carried on during the greatest part of the year. In the month of February, a Frenchman, who called himself Guillet de la Guerilliere, requested an audience of Mr. Fox. The minister having received him in his closet, the stranger communicated to him a project for the assassination of the French emperor, and informed him that the design might be carried into execution with certainty, and without risk. The magnanimous soul of Mr. Fox shrunk with horror from the proposal. He instantly dismissed the stranger, giving orders, at the same time, to the police officer, by whom he was accompanied, to detain him till the French government had time to take precautions against his attempts, and afterwards to send him out of the kingdom. He then dispatched a letter to M. Talleyrand, in which he informed that minister of this extraordinary affair. The emperor of the French, after perusing the letter, said, "I recognize here the principles of honour and virtue, by which Mr. Fox has ever been actuated." And shortly after, in a speech to the legislative body, he expressed a desire of making peace with England. Several communications between Mr. Fox and M. Talleyrand, passed on the subject, and the earl of Yarmouth was sent to Paris, in quality of minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty, but nothing resulted from the negotiations.

At this critical moment, on which the destinies of Europe seemed to be suspended, that consummate orator, statesman, and patriot, Mr. Fox, made his exit from the world, after having passed a life of distinguished lustre. He expired

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without pain, and almost without a struggle, on the 15th of September, 1806, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His political opinions, in regard to the French revolution, have been, with some, the subject of severe censure, and, with others, of unqualified applause. His oratorial abilities were an honour to the British senate, and his patriotism has seldom been called in question. When party spirit shall have disappeared in the lapse of time, future ages will revere his talents, and do justice to his memory, but will seldom produce his equal.

From the disastrous state of affairs on the continent, and the peace concluded at Tilsit, between Russia, Prussia, and France, which had nearly effected the total exclusion of British commerce from the European continent, government thought it would be for its interest to adopt vigorous, and extraordinary measures. Denmark from her situation and relative circumstances, could scarcely be expected long to preserve her neutrality, and, as the maritime preparations then carrying on in her ports, and the accumulation of warlike and naval stores in her arsenals, indicated her intention of taking a part in the war, the British government considered it as highly expeent to prevent the Danish navy from falling into the hands of the French emperor. A negotiation was therefore attempted. His Britannic majesty proposed, that the Danish fleet should be deposited in one of his ports, till the return of peace, and then be restored in the same condition, and state of equipment, as when placed under his protection. To be prepared for every emergency, it was therefore judged expedient to send such a fleet and army, as might be able, either to protect the court of Copenhagen from the resentment of France, in case of compliance, or to seize the Danish navy, in case of refusal. The British fleet was commanded by admiral Gambier, and the land forces by general lord Cathcart. On the 12th of August 1807, the expedition passed the Sound, and on the 16th, the troops disembarked without opposition. As the court of Denmark refused to surrender their navy, the British commanders immediately issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, stating the motives of their arrival, and intimating at the same time, that it was not yet too late to come to

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a peaceable accommodation. After this, the army proceeded and completely invested Copenhagen. On the 2d of September, the bombardment, both from the land batteries, and bomb vessels, commenced, and continued with more or less vigour, till the evening of the 5th, when an armistice was demanded, in order to adjust the articles of capitulation, and on the 8th, the Danish capital surrendered. The principal conditions were, that the ships of war, of every description, with the naval stores, should be delivered into the charge of such persons as should be appointed by the commanders of his British majesty's forces; that from the date of the capitulation, hostilities should cease throughout the island of Zealand; and that within the course of six weeks, the British troops should evacuate the country. The loss of the Danes in this attack on Copenhagen amounted to above 6,000 killed and wounded, and about 3,000 were made prisoners. The number of houses destroyed by the bombardment was estimated at 400, and about 1,500 of the inhabitants are said to have perished.

The ports of the continent being shut against the ships and manufactures of Great Britain, the famous orders in council issued in the month of November, declaring the ports of France and her allies, to be in a state of blockade, and all trade in the produce or manufactures of such countries, and their colonies, illegal, and the vessels carrying it on to be deemed lawful prizes, except under certain conditions specified in the orders. In the meanwhile the aspect of the political world threatened the extinction of commerce; but, while Great Britain was excluded from the ports of Europe, she saw new resources opened in America; and although the arms of France excluded her merchants from Portugal, the migration of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro, afforded them an immediate intercourse with Brazil. On the 24th of December, the island of Madeira was provisionally surrendered to his Britannic majesty. In the same month the Danish islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz, were taken possession of by the British.

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The year 1808 continued to develope the consequences of the peace of Tilsit, and of the ascendency which France, by that treaty, had acquired over the continent. Declarations of war were issued by Russia and Denmark against Sweden; and Great Britain generously granted to his Swedish majesty, a subsidy of 100,000*l.* per month to enable him to defend his dominions and counteract the hostility of the other northern powers. Early in the year, however, the British troops were obliged to evacuate Scylla, the only fortress which they had hitherto held in Calabria.

The revolutions which had recently taken place in Spain, opened to Great Britain a new and important scene of action. Both the kings of Spain, Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. having been obliged to resign the crown, the kingdom was generally looked upon as placed at the disposal of the French emperor. The Spanish nation justly considering these abdications as the effect of compulsion, the different provinces of the kingdom took arms, and began to organize a general system of resistance against the tyranny of France. A general assembly of the province of Asturias sent viscount Materosa, a nobleman of great influence in the country, and Don Diego de la Vega, an officer in the navy, as deputies to request the assistance of England, with full powers to conclude a treaty with the British government. Soon after their arrival cabinet councils were held, and government came to a determination to support the patriots of Spain. The enthusiastic ardour of independence was communicated from Spain to Portugal, where the people every where took arms, and the French were expelled from Oporto, Coimbra, and several other important positions. On the 12th of July, a force of about 13,000 men, under General Wellesley, was sent to act in Spain or Portugal, as exigencies might require, and soon after another armament of above 14,000 men, under general Burrard, sailed for the same destination. Not less than 90,000 stand of arms, from the tower of London, were ordered to be shipped for the use of the insurgents, and every possible

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step was taken for affording them the most effective aid. These measures of government met with universal approbation: the cause of the Spanish and Portuguese patriots became extremely popular, and the whole British nation appeared to unite in wishes for their success. From that time till the present, hostilities have been carried on in Spain and Portugal, between France and England. The result is still uncertain, and only known to that being in whose all comprehensive view future as well as past events are coexistent with the present.

That Christianity soon made its way into England is certain; but authentic history furnishes no documents that can enable us to fix the precise epoch of this happy event. The success of the Roman arms uniting so many nations in one vast empire, widely diffusing one common language, and illuminating the minds, as well as refining the manners of numerous barbarian tribes, appears to have been one of the means employed by Divine Providence for the propagation of Christianity. These conquerors settled in Britain soon after the Christian æra, and it is well known, that, at an early period, there were many Christian officers and soldiers in the Roman legions. Though there were Christians in England in the first five centuries of the Christian æra, yet Paganism was the prevailing religion until the close of the 6th century, when Pope Gregory, sent Augustine, with forty assistants, to convert the nation to the church of Rome. This was done, and the Catholic religion was patronised by the government. Augustine was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury before his arrival in England, and he had instructions for erecting 12 sees within his province. Under these favourable circumstances, a revolution, in favour of the Romish church, was readily effected. Augustine had a pope for his master; a king was first his patron, and then his disciple; and the sole government of the new church, with all the advantages of supremacy in a well arranged hierarchy was his recompense. Paganism henceforward declined and Christianity under the

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forms of the Catholic church, was the national religion for ten centuries, or until the reformation. John Wickliffe, in the 14th century, was the first person in England who publicly called in question the doctrines and opinions which had, during many centuries, been current among Christians.

The king is the supreme head of the church of England but this title does not convey any spiritual meaning, being only expressive of the regal power to preserve its unity, to support its rights, to dispose of its temporalities and to regulate its whole internal economy.

The church of England is governed, under the sovereign, by two archbishops and twenty-five bishops. The archbishop of Canterbury is styled primate of England, and takes the precedency before all persons in the kingdom, except the royal family. He is also enabled to hold ecclesiastical courts, and possesses several other extensive powers. His suffragans are the bishops of London, and of 20 other dioceses. The archbishoprick of York comprises all the other dioceses, and the archbishop precedes all the dukes, except those of the blood royal, and all the officers of state except the lord Chancellor. The archbishops, as well as the bishops, are appointed by the king. When a vacancy happens in an episcopal see, the dean and chapter apply to the king, and his majesty returns a *conge d'elire*, nominating the person to be chosen. On the nomination of an archbishop, the king appoints four or more bishops to officiate at the confirmation.

The bishops are peers of the realm, and have the precedence of all temporal barons. The administering of confirmation; the ordination of priests and deacons; and the dedication of churches and burial grounds, belong to their office. Their jurisdiction relates to the probation of wills; the administration of the goods of those who die intestate; the collation of benefices and institutions to livings. They are to defend the liberties of the church; and once in three years to visit their diocese.

Subordinate to the bishops there are prebendaries, arch-

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deacons, deacons, rectors, vicars, and curates. The clergy, in general, enjoy some peculiar privileges. Their goods are free from tolls in fairs and markets, and they are exempted from all offices, civil and military.

In regard to religion England exhibits so diversified a picture that it would require a considerable length of time as well as great attention to examine it minutely, and the opinions of different sects are so various that it is impossible to trace them through all their ramifications. Speculative theories are not now considered of such importance as they were in former ages, and each individual models his theological system according to the light of his own understanding. In this respect the revolution of human ideas in the course of the last century is very conspicuous in many parts of Europe. The authoritative sway of the creeds and councils of former days is at this time exceedingly diminished.

Many of the ministers both of the established church and among the dissenters have greatly distinguished themselves by their talents and learning and several of their literary performances are held in high estimation. The clergy of the established church and those of the various sects of non-conformists treat one another with friendship and candour and the moderate and enlightened of all parties consider most of the subjects of their differences merely as speculative matters not essential to salvation.

The British constitution is a limited monarchy counterpoised by two senates, one consisting of hereditary members called pears of the realm, and the other of representatives chosen by the people.

The king of Great Britain as chief magistrate of the people and the supreme head of the church unites in his person the dignity of the regal with the sanctity of the pontficial character, and the title of sacred majesty is expressive of that union. His person is so august that to mention or intend his death is a capital offence. The supreme executive power is vested in his hands. He can make war or conclude peace, send or

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receive embassadors, make treaties of alliance or commerce, levy armies and fit out fleets grant commissions to naval and military officers and revoke them at pleasure. To him also belong all castles, forts, ports, and havens, aswell as all magazines, ammunition and ships of war, and the whole naval and military force of the kingdom is entirely at his disposal. He has also the sole management of coinage and determines the weight and value of the coin. By virtue of this prerogative he can at pleasure summon, adjourn, prorogue or dissolve the parliament and the royal assent is necessary to give validity to any act even after it has passed through both houses. This assent his majesty may either give or refuse as he thinks proper but this refusal has seldom been found necessary. To the sovereign also belong the choice of his own council the nomination of all the officers of state and of all the bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. He is the foundation of honour and justice from him all titles of nobility and orders of knighthood are derived and he can pardon any crime or mitigate any penalty. As supreme head of the church he may call a national or provincial synod and with its consent enact cannons according to the exigency of the case. Such are the dignity the prerogatives and power of the king of Great Britain.

As the executive power is vested solely in the king, the legislative authority resides in the parliament. This great national senate consists of the three estates of the kingdom, the lords spiritual and temporal, who sit together in one house, and the commons, who sit alone in another. The house of peers has existed from the earliest periods of English history, but concerning the origin of the commons, authors disagree. Prior to the forty-ninth of Henry III. authentic history furnishes no positive proofs of their parliamentary existence. Since that period, the present constitution of the parliament of England may be traced with certainty.

The peers of England enjoy some peculiar privileges, such as exemption from personal arrest, except for treason, and

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other great offences, as well as from being summoned on juries, and they cannot be tried but by a jury of peers, who return a verdict not upon oath, but upon their honour. Every peer may vote in the senate by proxy, a privilege which does not extend to the commons. In the house of peers is placed the royal throne, where the sovereign generally appears at the meeting or prorogation of parliament, when he proceeds in state to the house. The attendance of the commons is then commanded, who stand below the bar, and the king pronounces his speech. The woolsacks on which the lord chancellor and the judges are seated, constitute a remarkable feature emblematical of the staple commodity of the country.

The house of commons consists of knights of the shire citizens and burgesses, elected by the counties, cities, and boroughs, in consequence of royal writs directed to the sheriffs. The members and their menial servants are exempted from arrest, in civil causes, as well on their journey to parliament and their return, as during their attendance. The commons constitute the grand inquest of the realm, and can impeach the greatest peers. The levying of money is their peculiar and principal privilege; and upon this indeed their whole power depends, as it places the success of all public measures, especially of war, almost wholly under their control. The house was formerly composed of 558 members, of whom England sent 513, and Scotland 45; but since the union with Ireland, the addition of 100 more from that country makes the number 658, which now constitutes the national representation of the British empire.

Such are the grand component parts of the body politic of Great Britain. The British senate is the seat of political science, and the theatre of eloquence, where all its powers are exerted. Many of the speeches delivered there by its members, rival the most splendid specimens of Greek and Roman eloquence. To this august assembly the eyes of the nation are turned, when affairs of momentous concern are the subject of its deliberations.

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The king of Great Britain has, besides his high court of parliament, officers and ministers to assist him, who are constituted by his nomination, and removed at his pleasure. Under every monarchial government, privy councils are coeval with the state. Its members in England are styled right honourable, and their office is of the highest trust and importance. What is called the cabinet council is a committee of the privy council, consisting of a select number of ministers and noblemen.

The lord chancellor represents the king's person in the administration of justice. He is, in point of precedency, superior to every temporal lord. In the earlier periods of English history, this office was usually conferred on some eminent ecclesiastic, as in those times few except churchmen were qualified to execute so important a charge. The lord chancellor is a privy councellor by his office, and prolocutor of the house of peers. The chancellor of the exchequer having the superintendance of the public revenue, is the officer generally considered as prime minister. Next to him are the secretaries of state, of which there are now three; one for foreign affairs, one for the home, and one for the war department. Besides these are the chancellor and the treasurer of the navy, the president of the council, the lords of the treasury, and of the admiralty, the paymaster of the forces, and other officers of high trust and authority: but to exhibit with accuracy, the nature and importance of these various offices, would lead us into details too minute and extensive.

It would be a vain attempt, and extraneous to our purpose, to undertake to delineate even a sketch of English jurisprudence, of which the trial by juries is one of the most distinguishing, and justly esteemed one of the most glorious features. It may, indeed, be considered as the safe-guard of life, liberty, and property. The whole system of English judicature is worthy of the highest applause, and, with the exception of that of the United States, is, perhaps, not equalled, certainly not excelled, by that of any other nation.

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Scarcely a country on the face of the globe can be named, where justice, either civil or criminal, is so equitably administered. Bribes are totally unknown. The laws operate without respect of persons. The rich and the poor, the peer and the peasant, derive from them an equal degree of protection.

A jury of twelve unexceptionable persons, chosen from a larger number, summoned by the sheriff, determine all trials upon common or statute law. These jurors have their station in the court near the judge, who, as soon as the examination of witnesses, and the pleadings are ended, recapitulates the evidence and arguments, and states the law. The jury then retire to consult on the matter, and, on their return, their foreman declares the verdict, which must be unanimous.

Martial law may, on pressing occasions, be proclaimed by the king, the regent, or the lieutenant general of the kingdom; but it is a dictatorial power, never exercised except on great emergencies. Trials by this law seldom take place: but when they occur, they are summary and severe as the necessity of the case requires.

The peers of England, sitting as judges in Westminster Hall, constitute the supreme court of judicature in England. The greatness of the persons presiding there, and the awful solemnity of the occasion, excite in the mind the most sublime ideas.

Next in dignity to the House of Lords, is the court of King's Bench, so called because the sovereign was understood to judge in person, as it was commonly practised in most countries, in the primitive times; when kingdoms being of a narrow extent, and their people few in number, causes of litigation seldom occurred, and legal proceedings were simple and summary. The jurisdiction of this court, consequently, extends to the whole kingdom, and the presiding judge is denominated lord chief justice of England. The court of Chancery judges causes in equity, and is designed to moderate the law, and defend the helpless against oppression, es-

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pecially in cases of fraud, accident, or breach of trust. The lord chancellor is the supreme judge in this court, and the master of the rolls, or keeper of the papers enrolled in chancery, is an officer of great dignity. The court of Common Pleas determines all civil causes. The court of Exchequer, which derives its name from the ancient method of accounting upon a chequered board, decides causes relating to the royal revenue.

The whole kingdom is divided into six judicial circuits, which are visited by the judges twice a year, an arrangement that renders the distribution of justice extremely commodious. At the assizes held in each county, by these judges, all important causes belonging to the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, are determined. Those of less moment are generally decided by the justices of the peace, at their quarterly sessions. In each parish is a constable, whose duty is to execute the warrants of the justices and to preserve the peace. This is an ancient and very important office under the English constitution.

The office of the sheriff is to execute the royal mandates, to impannel juries, to bring delinquents to trial, and to superintend the execution of the laws in all cases, civil and criminal. At the assizes, he meets and attends the judges, and on these occasions generally appears with a splendid retinue. The sheriff is an officer of great dignity and power: on any emergency he may call out the posse comitatus, or whole power of the county. In every county are two coroners, whose office is to inquire by a jury of neighbours into all cases of sudden death.*

* From this rapid survey of the constitution of England, a great resemblance to that of the United States is observable. If any other European power, instead of England, had colonised North America, the political condition of its inhabitants would have worn a totally different aspect. From this circumstance, the wisest civil institutions of the old world have been transplanted into the northern portion of the new. There they have grown, flourished, and been extended and improved.

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Under the feudal system, no standing army was known in England, and those who, by their military tenures, were obliged to perform forty days' service in the field, were only called out occasionally, and were soon disbanded. The ancient system of occasional and temporary levies, was soon found extremely unfit for a continued war. At an early period, the monarchs of England were obliged to make use of mercenary armies of foreigners. At different periods, measures began to be taken in order to muster and array the inhabitants, and to have always in readiness a force sufficient to repel invasion. To these rude beginnings, the origin of the national militia may be traced.

The land forces of Britain, on the peace establishment, generally amount to about 50,000; but, in time of war, especially of late years, their numbers have been exceedingly augmented. In the year 1808, they were estimated at 120,000 regulars, 50,000 fencibles and militia, exclusive of artillery &c. The effective men, including militia, invalids, &c. &c. do not amount to fewer than 200,000; and the different volunteer corps, many of whom are, in discipline and military skill, little, if any thing, inferior to regulars, may, perhaps, amount to near 360,000.

The navy of Great Britain constitutes her rampart and glory. It may, without any exaggeration, be affirmed, that the united fleets of the whole world are not able to cope with those of Great Britain. She is at present the queen of the ocean, and, like other overgrown sovereigns, too prone to mistake power for right, and to make the laws of nations, and the rights of neutrals, bend to her convenience and irresistible superiority on nature's high way, the common property of all the world.

The British fleets are usually divided into three squadrons, the red, white, and blue, thus designated by the difference of their colours. Each squadron has its admiral, but the admiral of the red has the supreme command of the whole, and is stiled vice-admiral of Great Britain. Each of these admirals

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has under him a vice and rear admiral. The special superintendance of the navy is committed to the board of admiralty composed of naval commanders of consummate skill and experience, and of a certain number of peers.

The superiority of Britain on the ocean may date its commencement from the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Soon after that event, Spain, the greatest maritime power of Europe, exhausted by a series of misfortunes, declined the contest for naval superiority, and could never more regain her empire on that element where she had before reigned without a rival. Holland disputed with England the sovereignty of the seas in the time of the commonwealth and during the Protectorate. Her naval conflicts with the fleets of Charles II. were her last great efforts, after which, like Spain, she gradually declined into a state of inferiority. But the battle of la Hogue constitutes the epoch at which the superiority of the maritime power of England over that of France became decisive and permanent. The following comparative view of the English navy under different reigns is an important document.

Under James II. 173. William III. 273. Anne 284. George I. 1721, 206. George II. 1734, 208; 1746, 276; 1755, 241. George III. 1762, 343; 1801, 787; 1809, 1,112 ships of war. This statement, including all the ships of war registered in the king's books, shews that in the present reign the augmentation of the naval force of Britain has been greater and more rapid than at any former period.

The British seamen are a remarkable and interesting class of men, distinguished from all others by a variety of striking peculiarities. Daring intrepidity, disinterested generosity, frank good nature, and blunt honesty, constitute their genuine characteristics. In spirit, alertness, and skill, they excel the sailors of all nations in the Eastern continent. Their fame extends as far as civilized society is diffused; and the squadrons of Britain are the glory and defence of their country, and the terror of its enemies.

The national revenue by which all these establishments are

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supported, naturally presents itself as the next object of consideration. In former times the royal revenue was chiefly derived from the demesne lands of the crown, from amerciaments, and from customs on imports and exports, which by reason of the low state of commerce, produced but trifling sums. As by the military tenures each soldier was obliged to maintain himself for a certain time, the expenditure was not much increased by war; but when it was found requisite to employ mercenaries, the national revenue was very inadequate to the purpose. On extraordinary emergencies, subsidies, to the amount of a fifteenth, and sometimes even a tenth part of landed income, and a proportionable rate on moveables, were granted by parliament. This mode of levying money was far more burdensome, and far more sensibly felt, than the present more refined and easy mode of taxation on articles of luxury or of conveniency, which scarcely affects, except in a remote and indirect manner, those of absolute necessity. The present system of taxation in England is such, that the burdens of individuals, being imposed in proportion to their consumption, must, with the single exception of the income or war tax, levied solely on such as are able to pay, be considered as more optional than compulsory.

The excise is computed to amount to beween 7,000,000*l.* and 8,000,000*l.* The customs, of late years, have generally been found to produce a net revenue of about 6,000,000*l.* The land tax has been recently sold to the proprietors or others who chose to be purchasers. The production of all these taxes depending on contingencies, must necessarily be subject to perpetual fluctuations. Their aggregate amount, however, is seldom less than 18,000,000*l.* or 20,000,000*l.*; and if between 7,000,000*l.* and 8,000,000*l.* produced by the income or war tax, be added, the sum will be augmented to 28,000,000*l.* or perhaps in some years to upwards of 30,000,000*l.* These sums are converted to a variety of public uses, of which the principal is the payment of the interest of the national debt: and as the aggregate amount of the various branches of re-

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venue is generally found more than sufficient for the purposes to which they are appropriated, the surplus is carried to the sinking fund, which was first instituted in 1716, for its gradual redemption. The debt, which acquired a prodigious increase from the American war, amounted, at the termination of that contest, to above 260,000,000*l.* and the interest exceeded 9,000,000*l.* At present it is increased to the sum of 670,000,000*l.* requiring the annual sum of 32,000,000*l.* to defray the interest and expenses of management.

The funding system which originated at Florence, A. D. 1344, was established in England in the reign of William III. and was an excellent measure for confirming the revolution, and rendering its benefits permanent. At that time, indeed, the enormous expenses incurred in settling the constitution, and maintaining long wars, rendered it expedient to anticipate the future resources of the nation, by borrowing immense sums for the current services, and levying no more money on the subject than would suffice for the payment of the annual interest. By this system the principal was converted into a new species of property, permanent and transferable, and established on the immoveable basis of parliamentary security. This species of property, being in constant circulation, is in respect both of the community and of individuals, productive of great and manifest advantages. It affords to the gentleman, the merchant, the widow, and the orphan an opportunity of vesting their money in the national funds. All sums raised for the use of the public are immediately expended, and return again to the nation from which they were drawn. This circulation diminishes the real weight of the taxes; for the money that is collected, being immediately spread abroad, enables those who receive it to afford fresh contributions, without any great inconvenience. Among these advantages the national debt has also inconveniences; the principal of which is, that the taxes necessary for the payment of the interest are detrimental to commerce and manufactures, by enhancing not only the price of the artificer's subsistence,

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and consequently of his labours, but also that of the raw materials. This must necessarily augment the price of the manufactured article; and may, in time, endanger the success of the English in their commercial contests with foreign competitors, who can afford to work for less wages, and will most certainly do so, should the infant manufactures of the United States be prosecuted a few years longer with the spirit they have been carried on, since British orders and French decrees have compelled the Americans to pursue their true interest. That a public debt, to a certain amount, promotes circulation, excites industry, and invigorates commerce, is demonstrable both by arguments and facts; but that it may be swelled to a pernicious magnitude, is not to be doubted. To fix the line of demarkation between the amount that is beneficial, and that which is injurious, requires nice calculations. In England, this line has been already so far transgressed as to make a speedy peace, and a rapid reduction of the national debt, very desirable.

The civil list is an annual revenue assigned to the king, for the support of his household, and of the honour and dignity of his crown. It amounts at present to about 1,000,000*l.* per annum, which is properly the whole of the king's revenue in his distinct capacity; the rest being rather the revenue of the public, although collected and distributed in the name, and by the officers, of the crown. The expenses of the civil list are those of the king's household, the salaries of the officers of state, of the judges, and of the king's servants, the appointments to foreign ambassadors, the maintenance of the royal family, secret service money, &c.

The political importance of Great Britain is very great; she holds the balance against France, being the sovereign of the seas, as the latter is the arbitress of the continent. At present the political relations of Great Britain are mostly of a hostile nature. Till a recent period, she was at war with all Europe, except Sweden and Sicily. At present she reckons Spain and Portugal among her allies. These countries and

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their colonies open the most lucrative channels to her commerce, and form the most important branch of her political connexions.

The first staple commodity of England was tin, a metal which the Phœnicians, five or six centuries before the Christian æra, first introduced into commerce, and diffused among the nations of Asia. The mines of this valuable metal are in Cornwall, which seems one of the least inviting of all the English counties. The bowels of the earth, however, compensate the sterility of its surface. The mines of tin, copper, and lead, found in England, are an inexhaustible source of commerce, and wealth, and support a population of 60,000 persons, exclusive of manufacturers, &c. The annual produce of the tin mines alone, amounts to about 25,000 blocks, which, exclusive of duties, may be estimated at about 260,000*l.* The ore is first pounded in a mill, and afterwards melted into blocks.

The Romans, while in possession of these mines, did not overlook so obvious a source of wealth; but after their evacuation of the island, the subsequent wars between the Britons and the Saxons, caused them to be entirely neglected, and until the reign of John, little information is to be had on the subject. At that period, they were farmed to the Jews for the small annual sum of 100 marks. In the time of Henry III. the value of their produce began to be considerable; and since that time, it has gradually increased, so as to become a great source of individual, aud national emolument.

Some coarse cloths, for the use of the poorer classes of the people, might have been manufactured in England from time immemorial; but it seems evident that nothing of the kind which merits the name of a manufacture, existed prior to the 14th century. Wool, however, continued to be exported in the fleece; and so late as the year 1551, no less than sixty ships sailed from the port of Southampton, to the Netherlands, laden with that commodity. It was not indeed, till the reign of queen Elizabeth, that the chief part of the Bri-

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tish wool began to be manufactured at home, when the value of the woollen cloths exported was estimated at the annual sum of 1,500,000*l.*

The net produce of English manufactures is estimated at 63,000,000*l.* sterling, and the population which they support at 1,585,000 persons. Of this immense product the woollen manufacture is computed to yield 18,000,000*l.*, that of leather, 12,000,000*l.*; that of linen, 10,000,000*l.*; and that of cotton, 23,000,000*l.* The other principal manufactures may be thus arranged, according to their comparative importance, iron, tin, lead, steel plating, copper and brass, silk, potteries, hemp, glass, and paper.

The manufactures of England are so various as even to render a bare enumeration almost impossible; and, indeed, there are scarcely any, which are not there brought to the highest degree of excellence. New, and various kinds of machinery, are continually invented for accelerating labour; and so ingenious and complex are their construction, that by description no adequate ideas of them can be conveyed. Among the vast numbers which might be mentioned, Mr. Arkwight's celebrated machine deserves particular notice. It is so judiciously planned, and so aptly constructed, that, by the motion of one great water-wheel, above 4,000 threads of cotton are at once spun in a manner wonderfully expeditious, and to a degree of firmness sufficient for the manufacture of the most elegant muslins. This, with the invention of Jennies for spinning woofs, gave an immense spring to the cotton manufactures in North and South Britain. This new machinery, affording such powerful means of expediting the work, and producing yarn more perfect in quality than could be procured by the former modes of spinning, had the immediate effect of reducing the prices of manufactured cottons, and consequently of facilitating their sale. The cotton mills, dispersed in almost every part of the kingdom, now produce a vast profit, and employ a great number of people. The

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manufacture of cotton, yielding only to those of woollen cloth leather, and metals, may be considered as the fourth in rank and importance among the English manufactures.

The manufactures of England are in a great measure the basis of her trade; for her natural productions would, in a crude state, be very far from sufficing for the support of the people. In regard to the quantity and variety of indigenous commodities, there are many countries which possess greater advantages, and could supply a more abundant exportation of home produce. The cotton, sugar, and codfish, from the continent, islands, and coasts of North America, contribute immensely to the trade of Great Britain. There are certainly other countries which are more highly favoured by nature. It is not, therefore, to any superior fertility of soil, or excellency of climate, but to the active and enterprising industry of her people, that England is indebted for her commercial prosperity.

The commerce of Great Britain has never been equalled by that of any other nation, ancient or modern. It may be said to extend to every region of the globe where civilized society is known. To exhibit a distinct view of so complicated a subject, cannot be here attempted; we shall only, in general terms, observe, that the West India Islands supply Great Britain with sugar, rum, cotton, coffee, mahogany, and various other products of the tropical climates. From Africa, gold-dust, ivory, gums, &c. are imported. Tea, rice, spices, drugs, colours, silks, cottons, saltpetre, shawls, &c. are brought from the East Indies, and China. From Canada, vast quantities of furs, timber, potash, iron, &c. are imported. The different countries of Europe furnish wines, and various other articles of convenience or luxury; and tobacco, rice, cotton, timber, hemp, flax, iron, pitch, tar, &c. are the principal articles of importation from the United States of America. This extensive commerce is principally supported by manufactures, as England exports but few raw materials, or agri-

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cultural productions. It was always supposed that the independence of the American colonies would have proved superlatively detrimental to the trade of Great Britain. No such effect, however, has yet been perceived to result from that event. In fact, the increased population and wealth of America will, for a long time, cause an increased demand for the manufactures of Great Britain. The West India trade is also a great resource, and that of the East Indies would have astonished the most commercial nations of antiquity.

Mr. Pitt, on the introduction of the income tax, gave in the following estimate of the annual income of Great Britain :—

Article 1.	The land rental, after the deduction of one fifth - - -	*L.*20,000,000
2.	The tenant's rental of land, after deducting two thirds of the rack rent -	6,000,000
3.	Tythes, after deducting one fifth -	4,000,000
4.	The produce of mines, canals, &c. deducting one fifth - - -	3,000,000
5.	The rental of houses, deducting one fifth	5,000,000
6.	The profits arising from professions -	2,000,000
7.	The rental, &c. of Scotland, estimated at one eighth of that of England -	5,000,000
8.	Income drawn from transmarine possessions - - - -	5,000,000
9.	Annuities from the public funds, after deducting one fifth - - -	12,000,000
10.	Profits on foreign commerce - -	12,000,000
11.	Profits arising from domestic trade, and from skill and industry - -	28,000,000
	Total annual income - - -	102,000,000

Statement of the capital of Great Britain, from Pinkerton's Geography, vol. i. p. 101.

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Article 1.	Land rental 33,000,000, at 30 years purchase - - -	*L.*990,000,000
2.	Rental of houses in England, Wales, and Scotland, 8,675,333*l.* at 15 years purchase, about - - -	130,000,000
3.	Cattle and farming stock - -	100,000,000
4.	Household furniture, wearing apparel, &c.	26,000,000
5.	Navy, and merchant ships - -	16,000,000
6.	Goods in the hands of merchants, and wholesale dealers - - -	13,000,000
7.	Goods in the hands of manufacturers and retail traders - - -	22,000,000
	Total	1,297,000,000

In the fine arts, England long remained very far behind her neighbours on the continent. As France received them from Italy, England was only the third in order of succession, and for a long time made no very rapid progress. During the dark periods of the middle ages, however, she produced, in architecture, some superb specimens. The reign of George III. has not been less distinguished by the patronage of the arts, than fortunate in the number of artists of eminent merit. Gainsborough and Wilson were distinguished in landscape; sir Joshua Reynolds was eminent in portrait and historical painting, and not less famous for his scientific disquisitions on the art. The Royal Academy has greatly contributed to the advancement of the arts. Under its auspices, and by the advantages which it affords in exhibiting, as models for study and imitation, the works of genius, some very able artists have been formed; and the annual public exhibitions of painting and sculpture, have been very favourable to the arts, by promoting a spirit of emulation, and exciting a more general attention to their productions. Mr. Aldermon Boydell, so distinguished by his good taste, carried the art of engraving to an unprecedented degree of perfection.

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In this department of art, indeed, the English now excel every other nation, and the prints executed in London excite universal admiration. Most of the arts and sciences have, of late, made a considerable progress in England; but its inhabitants acknowledge their inferiority to the Italians and Germans in music.

English literature, like English commerce, offers so vast and so various a theme, that a few cursory observations are all that can here be attempted. During the long period of the Roman government in this island, no Latin author, of British origin, is to be found, Bede, who flourished in the eighth century, is the first, and the most celebrated writer in that language, of whom the Anglo-Saxon nation can boast. This learned and venerable monk amply supplied the former deficiency, and was not only the glory of his nation, but the wonder of his age. King Alfred may be considered as one of the classical authors in the Saxon language, but scarcely any Latin writer is to be found between the time of Bede, and the commencement of the twelfth century. About the latter period, the literature of England began to rise to a level with that of her neighbours on the continent. The fourteenth century exhibits that prodigy of learning and philosophy, Roger Bacon. This great pioneer in science not only wrote upon, but improved almost every subject of learned investigation. He also excited a spirit of inquiry, and set the world thinking. The civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, were ruinous to literature as well as to the arts. The reign of queen Elizabeth was the æra of the revival of classical learning. Since that time, both learning and the polite arts have continued their progress with a steady pace, without receiving any considerable check from the political convulsions of the kingdom, during the civil wars, or the distracted state of the succeeding interregnum. The reign of Charles II. was the commencement, but that of queen Anne the complete establishment of the Augustan age of English science and literature. England then exhibited a constellation of illustrious

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characters, who shone in letters as well as in arms. Ever since that period her progress has been unremitting, and her writers are too numerous to be mentioned by name, and too celebrated to require any commemoration. Among the philosophers of all nations and ages, Newton was the first who discovered the physical laws of the universe. The English clergy are the most learned ecclesiastical body in Europe, and have cultivated classical learning with great assiduity and success.

In England the higher, and even the middle classes of the people, spare no pains, nor expense, in the education of their children; but the instruction of the lower classes is miserably neglected; partly through the indolence and inattention of parents, and partly for want of some general system of public education, suited to their condition. The lower classes of the people constitute the great mass of every community, and, on the state of their minds, its welfare, in a great measure, depends; as both reason and experience concur to prove, that a well-instructed populace will always be tranquil, contented, virtuous, and, on the whole, excellent members of society. Various charity schools, indeed, exist in England, but their number is so small, and the salaries annexed to many of them so trifling, or so mismanaged as to be of little utility. In England, a partial remedy for these defects has been attempted, by the institution of Sunday schools. These have been found very beneficial; but are totally inadequate to the grand purpose of general instruction. For the higher classes there are some public schools of great eminence; the principal of which are those of St. Paul's, Westminster, Eton, and Winchester; and in these several of the most distinguished ornaments of their country have laid the foundation of a noble superstructure of learning.

The universities of Oxford and Cambridge have brought forward, into public service, a greater number of eminent men in various departments, than any other institutions of a similar nature in Europe.

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Female education in England, is, among the higher classes, conducted in a manner perfectly suitable to their rank, with great elegance and expense, which renders many of the fair sex an ornament to the most elevated stations. An imperfect imitation of this method among the middle classes, especially by those whose pecuniary circumstances are inadequate to the expense of carrying it forward on the liberal and extensive scale that is requisite for its completion, may be considered as one of the great errors in the general system of female culture. The attention of such as are thus partially educated, being directed rather to superficial than to solid attainments, they often acquire an imperfect smattering of ornamental, with few useful, accomplishments. The education of the lower classes of females is extremely neglected.

Among the superior classes the grand system of education is generally completed by travel. Young noblemen, and gentlemen of affluence, after they have spent some years at the university, generally make the tour of France and Italy, and sometimes of Europe. Mr. Gibbon, who long resided at Lausanne, says, that previous to the French revolution, no fewer than 40,000 English travellers, masters and servants, were supposed to be continually traversing the continent. By this intercourse foreigners were, in their turn, attracted to England; and London was, at the same time, the rendezvous of travellers of all nations. The spirit of travel seems indeed to have become prevalent in several European countries; and has an excellent effect in extirpating national prejudices, and enlarging the mind.

On the authority of the abstract of the parish returns, December 8, 1801, the general census of England and Wales amounted to 9,431,578 persons.

The moist and cloudy atmosphere of England, by screening all animal life from the scorching rays of the sun, gives to the inhabitants, in general, a fairness and floridness of complexion, which is almost totally unknown in the south of Europe. England may be regarded as the native seat of female

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beauty, which is certainly more general than in almost any other country. In the more southern parts of Europe, and in the high northern latitudes, the complexion of the lower classes of the people is tanned by the heat of the sun, or shrivelled by the rigour of severe, and long continued frost. But the mildness of the climate, and that canopy of clouds, with which the British skies are so commonly shaded, diffuses a clear and lively bloom in the face of the milk-maid and the peasant. This cause, in conjunction with the comfortable manner in which the inferior orders live, and that general cleanliness which characterises the English, gives to the common people an exterior appearance of comeliness and elegance. These advantages are the result of a temperate climate and flourishing commerce; but the freedom of the British constitution, providing for the security of property, and favouring the rights of private opinion, is the grand moral cause, to which may be traced the general spirit of enterprise that so eminently distinguishes the English, and from which results the great variety of speculative theories, and religious systems, which prevails in that country.

To enumerate all the various pastimes which idleness may require, and fancy invent, and accommodate to the taste of different classes of people, would be an endless task. The amusements of the theatre are no where carried to a higher degree of perfection than in England. Operas, ridottos, &c. are to be met with chiefly in the metropolis; but assemblies, balls, &c. are frequent in every part of the kingdom. Card parties are also exceedingly common, and the spirit of gaming is prevalent. Of hunting and horseracing the English are excessively fond, and their horses and dogs are excellent.

Domestic architecture, and housewifery, are in England carried to great perfection. The houses are extremely commodious, and they are not less remarkable for their cleanliness. The peculiarities of diet are, a plentiful use of animal food, and a vast consumption of tea, and malt liquors. Of tea, a greater quantity is said to be consumed in England than

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in all Europe besides; it being drunk, morning and afternoon, in almost every dwelling in town, and country, from the palace to the meanest cottage. Coffee, though frequently drunk, is of much less general use. England was formerly noted for the variety and richness of its ales; but, at present, its principal malt beverage is porter. That of London is particularly famous, and constitutes an article of exportation on a very large scale. In England a great quantity, and variety of wines are consumed, but the red wine of Portugal is the most commonly drunk. The use of spirituous liquors is very common among the lower orders of the people, and is equally prejudicial to health, and to morals.

Simplicity and neatness characterise the dress of both sexes. The dress of all ranks is plain, and elegant, rather than splendid. That of persons of the highest distinction is, on ordinary occasions, the same as that of creditable citizens; and in no opulent country of the ancient or modern world, has the nobility united so much elegance with so little ostentation.

On great occasions, however, they appear with a splendour suitable to their own, and the national dignity.

The manners of the English are continually changing, and growing more refined. Opulence naturally produces a spirit of luxury, which is the great support, and encouragement of manufactures and commerce. Both these indeed must stagnate, if, as formerly, the conveniences and luxuries of life were restricted to a few, and the great mass of the people lived in that plain and simple style described by old writers; when, as Holinshead of the 16th century observes, "the houses were so mean, that in many towns, excepting the monasteries and feudal mansions, not above two or three chimnies were seen; when the common people used, instead of beds, pallets of straw, covered with a coarse sheet, and a log of wood for a bolster, and those who were lodged the most comfortably, were perfectly contented with a mattrass, and a bolster of chaff, while pillows were a great indulgence to wo-

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men in childbed, and servants had seldom so much as a sheet over their canvass-covered pallet, to hinder the straws from pricking their sides, and when six or seven shillings in a farmer's purse, was considered as a mark of great opulence."* If this simplicity of manners, and frugality of living, had continued, trade and manufactures could never have flourished; and if society should again revert to that state, they must be annihilated. The increase of commerce, and the influx of wealth, naturally, and indeed necessarily, produce a decided alteration in domestic habits and national manners.

Wales, though so long incorporated with England, being inhabited by a people of a different origin, living in a sequestered part of the island, where commerce and wealth have not operated powerfully on moral habits, exhibits certain peculiarities of manners, as well as of ideas, which are very different from those of their neighbours of the Saxon race. In some parts of Wales, the females of the lower and middle classes, dress in a peculiar manner, wearing a cumbrous gown of dark blue cloth, even in summer; and, instead of a cap, a large handkerchief wrapped round the head, and tied under the chin. In other places, the women, as well as the men, wear large hats with broad brims.

Superstition is also a characteristic of the peasantry of this part of the kingdom; but it is scarcely less prevalent among the same class of people in England, and most other countries.

The great article of superstitious belief, is that of the existence, and busy activity, of fairies. This appears to be a Celtic superstition, as it is equally prevalent among the Welch, the Irish, and the western Highlanders, all races of Celtic origin.

Another striking feature of the Welch peasantry, is the extraordinary attention paid to the repositories of the dead: the church-yards being kept with a cleanliness and decency, seldom seen in other countries.

Exhibitions of pious veneration for the dead, are always

* Holinshead's Chron. vol. i. p. 85.

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more observable among people in a state of comparative simplicity, than among nations in the highest state of cultivation. Among the former, imagination is stronger, or its activity is less damped by the sober reasonings of philosophy, the pursuits of commerce, or the views of ambition, and avarice; and the natural affections operate in their genuine force, undisguised, and undiminished by intercourse with the world.

The hospitality almost universally prevalent throughout Wales, is an amiable characteristic of its inhabitants. Anciently the whole country scarcely afforded a single exception.

Such are the singular, but amiable manners of a people, as little known to the eastern parts of Europe, as the sublime scenery of the country which they inhabit. It is also to be observed, that since making tours into Wales has become fashionable, the vestiges of ancient simplicity are gradually wearing out. The manners of London, and Dublin, are introduced into some of their towns, and a variety of refinements have found their way, even into some parts of the country.

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SCOTLAND.

SCOTLAND, the Caledonia of Tacitus, is situated between 55° and 58° 40′ north latitude, and between 1° and 6° west longitude; being about 250 miles in length, from north to south, with a very irregular breadth, no where exceeding 160 miles. The contents of its surface have been computed at 27,793 square miles; the population being estimated at 1,600,000, the proportion of the inhabitants to the soil is only fifty-seven for a square mile.

The face of the country is extremely diversified. The popular distinction of highlands, and lowlands, is expressive of the contrast between the mountainous and the level part. The highlands are strikingly picturesque; but one beautiful and interesting feature is almost universally wanting in the landscapes of Scotland. The almost total absence of wood gives to nature a kind of forlorn aspect. Masses of mountains, and extensive heaths, without a tree, or a shrub, to relieve the eye in ranging over the wide and desolate waste, excite the gloomy idea of hopeless sterility.

The mountains, which occupy so great a part of its surface, are the principal distinctive feature of Scotland. The principal chains are the Grampian hills, running from east to west, almost the whole breadth of the country; the Pent-

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land hills, and Lammer Muir. Ben Nevis is the highest mountain in Britain; its elevation being estimated at 1450 yards above the level of the sea. The savage scenery of the northwest of Scotland is thus described by an intelligent traveller: "A wide extent of country lay before us, and exhibited a most august picture of forlorn nature. The prospect was altogether immense, but wild and desolate beyond conception. The mountains presented nothing to view but heath, and rock between them; formless lakes, and pools dark with shades thrown from prodigious precipices, gave grandeur to the wilderness in its gloomy forms." These desolate regions yet remain unexplored by tourists, and unknown to geographical description.

The three principal rivers of Scotland are the Forth, the Clyde, and the Tay. The Clyde, having the great mercantile city of Glasgow seated on its banks, claims a commercial pre-eminence over all the other rivers of Scotland. The number of vessels belonging to the Clyde, in 1790, was 476.

Next in consequence to these is the Tweed. The Dee is a considerable and placid stream, which scarcely yields to the Tweed in pastoral celebrity.

The canal which connects the Forth and the Clyde, is a masterpiece of inland navigation, the depth being seven feet, the width, at the surface, fifty-six feet, the locks seventy-five feet long, and their gates twenty feet wide. In a tract of ten miles, it is raised, by twenty locks, to the amazing height of 155 feet above the medium sea mark. In the fourth mile there are ten locks, and a fine aqueduct bridge, which crosses the great road leading from Edinburgh to Glasgow. The expense of this mile amounted to 18,000*l.* At Kirkintilloch, the canal is carried over the water of Logie on an aqueduct bridge, the arch of which is ninety feet wide, and is considered as a capital piece of masonry. In the whole extent of the canal there are eighteen draw-bridges, and fifteen aqueduct bridges of considerable size, besides smaller ones, and tunnels. One reservoir, for supplying it with water, is above

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twenty-four feet deep, and covers a surface of fifty acres; another occupies seventy acres, and is banked up at the sluice twenty-feet; the former of these is near Kilsyth, and the latter seven miles from Glasgow. The precise length of the canal is thirty-five miles. On the 28th of July, 1790, it was opened, and the communication from sea to sea completely effected. No work of the kind can be more ably finished.

Among the lakes of Scotland, the chief, in extent and beauty, is Loch Lomond, studded with romantic islands, and adorned with picturesque scenery.

Among the metals and minerals of Scotland, lead, iron, and coal, may be considered as the principal. Both gold and silver have been found, but in very small quantities. The coal mines have been worked through a succession of ages, and may be traced as far back as to the twelfth century. The mountains of Scotland consist of a great variety of materials. Many parts of the highlands contain white marble, and beautiful granite.

The highlands, in general, present a picture of extreme sterility; but many parts of the lowlands yield abundant crops.

In the eastern parts of Scotland, the atmosphere is less humid than that of England. On the other hand, the western counties are deluged with violent and long continued rains: an additional, and indeed, in many cases, an insuperable obstacle, to the advancement of agriculture. The winter is more remarkable for the abundance of rain and snow, than for the intenseness of the frost; but in summer, the solar rays are powerfully reflected in the vallies between the mountains.

In Fifeshire and the Lothians, agriculture is well understood; and the farmers are in general well fed, clothed, and comfortably lodged. A very considerable part of Scotland, however, displays but little improvement, and the husbandman rather exists, than lives, on the scanty produce of his farm. In those places the cattle are lean and small, the houses

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exceedingly mean, and the whole face of the country exhibits the most deplorable marks of poverty.

The general aspect of the country is bleak, from the deficiency of wood, yet some parts of Scotland present considerable forests of birch and pine. The Scotch oak is excellent, and several parts of Scotland present incontestible evidences, that the country formerly abounded in timber, large logs being frequently found buried in the mosses or bogs. The Sylva Caledonia was famous in antiquity for being the retreat of the Caledonian boar; but the forest, as well as its fierce inhabitants, has now disappeared. The general nudity of the country, however, is gradually dimininished by the good taste, and laudable exertions of many of the nobility, and gentry, who form numerous and extensive plantations in the vicinity of their mansions.

The horses of Galloway are of a diminutive breed, but considerably larger than those of Shetland. Horses, horned cattle, and sheep, are very small in the highlands, but, in the eastern districts, they are much larger, and of different breeds. Wolves were not extirpated in Scotland till near the end of the seventeenth century. Among the birds, may be reckoned a considerable number of eagles and falcons. The islands, and rocky shores, are the haunts of numberless sea fowl, of various kinds.

Scotland abounds with fish, and contributes largely to the supply of the English markets, especially in lobsters and salmon, the produce of its seas and rivers. The latter, indeed, as well as some of its lakes, have long been distinguished for the abundance of salmon with which they are stored. In the small river of Thurso, 2,500 salmon have been caught in one morning.

The relics of antiquity, in Scotland, are numerous. Some are considered as Druidical. Those of the Roman period, however, are of superior importance, and easily distinguished. The camp near Ardock, in Perthshire, at the foot of the Grampian hills, is a striking remnant of Roman antiquity,

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and is generally supposed to have been the encampment of Agricola, previous to his decisive battle with Galgacus, the Caledonian king, which Tacitus describes with such eloquence. The principal vestige of the Roman power, in North Britain, is the celebrated wall, built in the reign of Antoninus Pius, which, extending beyond the Friths of Forth and Clyde, marked the utmost boundaries of the dominions of Rome.

Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, cannot be traced beyond the year 955. Many of the houses in the old town of Edinburgh, are of the astonishing height of twelve or thirteen stories, a singularity ascribed to the desire of the ancient inhabitants to be within the protection of the castle, which was formerly considered as a place of extraordinary strength. The new town of Edinburgh is deservedly celebrated for its regularity and elegance; the houses being all of freestone, and some of them ornamented with pillars and pilasters. Brick is comparatively unknown in Scotland.

Many of the public edifices in Edinburgh, are magnificent. The High street, in the old town, acquires from its length, width, and the height of the houses, an appearance strikingly magnificent, and scarcely equalled in Europe. The new city is joined to the old by the North bridge. A similar communication with the elevated ground on the south is effected by the South bridge, extending over the valley, called the Cowgate. This bridge has a range of houses on each side, forming a continued street, except at the middle arch. The enormous sums of 150,000*l.*, 100,000*l.*, and, in general, from 80,000*l.* to 96,000*l.* per acre, are the astonishing, and almost incredible, prices of areas for building, in this superb street. The situation of Edinburgh is grand and romantic, and its environs are picturesque and pleasing. For mental cultivation, and literary society, Edinburgh is scarcely excelled by any city. Its population is about 90,000.

Glasgow, the second city of Scotland, is also one of the most ancient; but it was little distinguished in the annals of

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commerce, till the union between the two kingdoms opened new views, and excited the spirit of enterprise among the inhabitants. Before that period, the merchants of Scotland were excluded from the American and West India trade; and the necessary and dangerous circumnavigation of a great part of the island, before the vessels of Glasgow could reach any of the European ports, presented a formidable obstacle to the extension of its commerce. The first branch of trade in which the inhabitants of this place engaged, seems to have been the curing and exportation of the salmon, caught in the Clyde. About A. D. 1680, the exportation of salmon and herrings, from Glasgow to France, was very considerable; the returns being made in wine, brandy, and various other commodities. This appears to have been the principal trade of this port, before the union permitted its extension to America and the West Indies. The first vessel belonging to Glasgow, that crossed the Atlantic, sailed from the Clyde, in the year 1718, which constitutes a memorable epoch in the commercial history of Scotland. The trade to the American colonies increased so rapidly, and was carried on to so great an extent, that out of 90,000 hds. of tobacco, imported into Great Britain, 49,000 were engrossed by Glasgow.

At the commencement of the American war, the commerce of this port had reached its greatest height; but from that event it received a blow which threatened its annihilation, and actually ruined many of the opulent merchants, whose capitals were embarked in that trade, and who had supposed themselves possessed of independent fortunes. Although the trade of Glasgow was thus interrupted, the commercial spirit of her citizens was not extinguished. They explored new sources, and increased their trade with the West Indies, and the continent of Europe. By these means, their commerce gradually revived, and has lately been much augmented. If the foreign trade of Glasgow has not yet attained to its former prosperity, the deficiency is amply compensated by the amazing increase of its manufactures. That

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of linen had been begun in 1725, and was carried on to a considerable extent, but has of late yielded to that of cotton, which, according to a calculation made in 1791, produced manufactured goods to the amount of 1,500,000*l.*, and employed no fewer than 15,000 looms. The cathedral is an ancient structure, which escaped the fury of the first reformers, who took so much pains to obliterate all the monuments of antiquity in that country. This city is finely situated on the Clyde, on the banks of which the landscape is rich, various, and delightful, being interspersed with a number of elegant seats. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the population of Glasgow, including the suburbs, amounted to 23,546; in 1793, to 66,028, and since that time it must be considerably improved. The University of Glasgow is of considerable celebrity.

Perth is an ancient town, pleasantly situated in a plain on the banks of the Tay. Its trade is chiefly of the coasting kind, and linen its staple manufacture; besides which it has some of paper and leather. The population of Perth is computed at about 20,000, having doubled its number of inhabitants since the year 1755. It possesses a grammar school of great celebrity, which has produced many eminent statesmen, and scholars, of whom it suffices to mention the late earl of Mansfield, and the admirable Crichton. There is also an academy, and a literary and antiquarian society. The manners of Perth are gay, and the inhabitants have theatrical representations, regular assemblies and other polite amusements.

Dundee is also situated on the Tay, about sixteen miles below Perth. This town has repeatedly suffered the calamities of war, having been taken and burnt by Edward I. king of England, afterwards by Richard II., and again by the English in the reign of Edward VI. During the troubles which followed the death of Charles I., the marquis of Montrose took it by storm, as did afterwards general Monk, after a most destructive siege. Lumsden, the governor, was among the slain, and the town was given up to pillage. In 1792, the ves-

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sels belonging to this port amounted to 116, and their tonnage to 8550. Of the manufactures, 80,000*l.* was computed to be the annual value of the linens; 40,000*l.*, of the canvass, &c. 30,000*l.* of the coloured thread; and 14,000*l.* that of the tanned leather.* The population, in 1801, amounted to 26,084. Dundee has given birth to many eminent characters, among whom may be numbered the celebrated Hector Boethius, Fletcher, Dempster, the brave lord viscount Duncan, and the late lord Loughborough.

Aberdeen is a large and handsome town, situated on a rising ground on the banks of the Dee. In 1795, sixty-one British, and five foreign ships entered this port. The chief manufactures are those of woollen goods, particularly stockings, of which the annual export is computed to amount to 128,000*l.* The salmon fishery in the Dee, and the Don, is a valuable branch of trade, the annual average of the exported salmon being 167,000*lbs.* weight sent pickled to London, and from 900 to 1000 barrels of salted fish, to the Mediterranean. In the fourteenth century, Aberdeen was taken and destroyed by Edward III. king of England. The whole population was, in 1795, computed at 24,493, having within half a century, increased nearly one third. At Aberdeen is a university, of which the celebrated Hector Boethius was the first president, with an annual salary of forty Scottish marks, or 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, a striking proof of the high value, and scarcity of money, in Scotland, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

Paisley, six miles and a half west from Glasgow, merits the attention of all those who consider manufactures as one of the pillars of national prosperity. At the commencement of the last century, this was a place of little importance, consisting of only one street, about half a mile long, with some lanes diverging from it, on each side. At present Paisley, with its suburbs, may rank among the principal towns in Scotland, after Edinburgh and Glasgow. It exhibits an interest-

* Statistic Account, vol. viii. p. 204.

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ing spectacle of ingenious and successful industry. The annual value of the produce of the manufactures in the town of Paisley, consisting of silk gauze, lawns, cambrics, thread-gauze, muslins, white thread, ribbons, soap, candles, and tanned leather, have been computed at upwards of 660,000*l.*, besides those of the suburbs, where two of the cotton mills contain 22,572 spindles, and employ nearly 1000 persons. According to the returns made to sir John Sinclair in 1721, the number of inhabitants in the town of Paisley, and its suburbs, amounted to 19,903. Since 1791, the population is supposed to have increased one fourth.

Stirling is chiefly remarkable for its historical fame, and for its romantic and commanding situation. Its castle is of great antiquity. It commands a delightful prospect diversified by the windings of the Forth, as well as by ancient ruins, elegant seats and populous villages. This fortress was often the object of bloody contention, and twelve fields of battle are said to be within view of its walls. In Scotland the scene is now happily changed: instead of gloomy castles, and ensanguined fields, we see the arts of peace converting to human use the rude materials of nature. The population of Stirling is about 5,000.

SCOTTISH ISLANDS.

The Scottish islands are generally classed in three grand divisions; the Hebudes, or western isles, erroneously called Hebrides, the Orkneys, and the islands of Shetland.

To the first of these divisions belongs Jura, about twenty miles in length, and at the most five miles in breadth. Mull is about twenty-eight miles in length, and its mean breadth about eighteen. The climate is cloudy and rainy. The population is about 7,000. The principal food of the inhabitants is potatoes, barly-meal, and fish; and their drink pure water, except

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when then can obtain whiskey. The habitations are hovels constructed of whin, or furze, and covered with thatch, while a hole in the roof serves for a chimney. In the whole island Dr. Johnson could find only one man that spoke English, and not a single individual that could read. Mull is surrounded with small, but interesting islands. Icolmkill, and Staffa, in the vicinity of Mull, are to the historian, and naturalist, curious subjects of investigation. The celebrated Icolmkill, or Jona, is only about three miles long and one in breadth, yet this remote and contracted spot was once the seat of religion, and learning, when not only England and Scotland, but also a great part of Europe, were immersed in the darkest and most barbarous ignorance. Jona may be considered as classic ground, and the primitive seat of Scottish literature. Innumerable inscriptions seem to sanction the well known observation, that when learning was almost extinct in most parts of Europe it found an asylum in these remote regions. But the light which it once diffused in this corner, was afterwards extinguished by the ravages of the Danes, and Norwegians, and ages of barbarism succeeded. Staffa, about six miles north of Jona, is about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, and exhibits a scene of natural magnificence almost unparalleled. Sir Joseph Banks explored those interesting regions. The beautiful basaltic columns, forming one entire end of the island, are almost fifty feet high, and standing in natural colonnades, disposed with all the regularity of architecture, present an appearance astonishingly grand and beautiful.

Skey,* and its surrounding isles, form another groupe of the Hebrides. This is the largest of the division, distinguished by this appellation, being about forty-five English miles in length, and twenty-two in breadth, and containing about 15,000 inhabitants. From this island are exported considerable num-

* Skey is the birth place of the Rev. Donald M'Leod of Edisto Island who has enriched the history of South Carolina with an account of the place of his residence so full and accurate as to render it the most complete statistical account that has yet been given of any place in the United States to the southward of New York.

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bers of black cattle, and horses. The houses are mostly of turf and covered with grass.

St Kilda is the most western of the Hebrides. The coast is one continued face of perpendicular rock, of a tremendous height. One of the principal employments of the inhabitants of St. Kilda, is catching wild fowl, and taking their eggs. In this difficult and apparently dangerous business, a person, by the means of a rope, which he has fastened round his waist, descends the precipitous rocks which form the shores of the island, and ransacks the nests of the various kinds of sea fowl, that breed there in incredible numbers. After having obtained his booty, he is drawn up on a signal given to a person placed on the top of the rock. At this business, which often affords them a plentiful supply of excellent food, the people of St. Kilda are exceedingly dexterous. The fowler, without the least trepidation, or appearance of fear, descends the most dreadful precipices, and, suspended between heaven and earth, pitches himself by the help of a pole, from rock to rock with the utmost agility, while his situation cannot, without terror, be viewed by a spectator unaccustomed to such scenes. St. Kilda contains one village, about a quarter of a mile from the landing place. In this village all the inhabitants reside. In 1690 they amounted to 180 persons. In 1764, they were only eighty-eight. This decrease was owing to the introduction of the small pox, which, in 1730, had so depopulated the island, that no more than four grown persons were left alive. In so small a society, in a situation so remote as to be almost entirely secluded from the rest of the world, it may easily be imagined that a peculiarity of manners, and ideas, must prevail. The inhabitants of St. Kilda, having scarcely any communication with the rest of mankind, appear almost in the light of a distinct race of human beings.

These islands were peopled at an early period, and were not unknown to Pliny.* That they were once in a flourishing

* Pliny's Hist. Nat. lib 6, c. 16.

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state, and the seat of religion and learning, is attested by a mass of circumstantial evidence. In the year 1098, Magnus, king of Norway, attacked and subdued these islands. In 1266 they were, by Alexander II. re-annexed to Scotland, and their cession was solemnly confirmed to Alexander III. by Magnus IV. king of Norway. The Hebrides were once better peopled and cultivated, and, in every respect, more flourishing than at present. The people of these islands, in their manners and customs, their prejudices, &c. resemble the highlanders. The lowland manners, however, are continually gaining ground in the highlands, while in those sequestered isles, scarcely any alteration in the moral condition of the inhabitants takes place. Many of the Celtic customs still remain, and a strong tincture of the feudal system yet prevails. The shamachies, or story tellers, supply the place of the ancient bards; and like them, are the family historians and genealogists. The family musician, who is generally a bag-piper, appears on particular occasions, sumptuously dressed in the manner of the English minstrels of former ages. The people are very little better clothed, lodged, and fed, than the Laplanders. Their religion is chiefly that of the kirk of Scotland; but superstition is so grafted on their minds, that volumes might be filled with the description of their follies, notions, and practices.

The islands of Orkney form a groupe round what is called the main land. Kirkwall, the chief town of the Orkneys, contains about 300 houses, and has a stately cathedral. In 1790 the exports of Kirkwall were estimated at 26,598*l.* and the imports at 20,803*l.* Its manufactures are linen yarn, coarse linens, and kelp. The number of sheep in the Orkneys is computed at 50,000. Their horses and cows are small, but the former are full of spirit, and the latter yield excellent milk. The swine are also of a diminutive size. The inhabited isles of Orkney are computed at twenty-six, and 23,635 is the number assigned to their population.

The islands of Shetland form a groupe similar to that of

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Orkney, the largest of which is called the Mainland, being in the middle. Of this remote country it is difficult to obtain any accurate accounts. The following, chiefly extracted from Jameson, seems to be the best modern view of Shetland. "On viewing these islands, in general, a wonderful scene of rugged, bleak, and barren rocks, presents itself to our view. No tree, or shrub is to be seen to relieve the eye in wandering over these dreary scenes. The western part presents many scenes as wild and sterile as can well be conceived. Grey rocks rising from the midst of marshes and pools, and shores bounded by awful sea beat precipices, do not fail to raise in the mind ideas of desolation and danger. The coasts are, in general, rugged and precipitous, presenting in many places scenes truly grand and magnificent, vast rocks of various heights, dreadfully rugged, and broken, opposing their rude fronts to all the fury of a tempestuous ocean, which in some places has formed great detached pillars, in others, has excavated grand natural arches, and caverns, that mock all human magnificence, and strike the beholder with awe and wonder." These islands lie between 59° 59′ and 61° 15′ north latitude; the longest day is somewhat more than nineteen, and the shortest less than five hours: but, as in other high northern latitudes, the inhabitants derive, in the gloomy season of winter, great advantages from the strong aurora borealis, which affords a light nearly equal to that of a full moon. In these islands the spring is late, the summer very short, and the autumn wet and foggy. The winter sets in about the end of October, and continues till April. During that season they have little frost and snow, but almost constant rains, with frequent and violent storms; and the sea swells and rages in so tremendous a manner, that, for the space of five or six months, their shores are inaccessible, and the inhabitants debarred from all intercourse with the rest of the world. Internal intercourse is also difficult; the interior parts, being moorish and boggy, and every where intersected with rugged mountains, are almost impervious, especially as neither roads

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nor bridges are found in this desolate country. The horses are spirited and beautiful, but of so diminutive a size as to render them objects of curiosity in England.

The herring fishery constitutes a very remarkable branch of commerce, and exhibits a stupendous natural curiosity. The vast Arctic ocean, which appears to be only a dismal reservoir of boundless ice, is, by the wisdom of divine Providence, rendered an inexhaustible source of provisions for the human race. In its profound recesses the innumerable shoals of herrings breed their myriads in security. About the winter solstice, emerging from their unknown retreat, in a body surpassing description, and almost exceeding the powers of imagination, they separate into three divisions. The least numerous body passing through the streight between Asia and America, visits the coast of Kamtschatka. Another, taking a more westerly direction, moves towards America, and spreads along the coasts of this continent as far as Carolina. But the grand column, advancing towards the western parts of Europe, reaches the coast of Iceland about the beginning of March, in a close phalanx of a great depth, and of such an extent, that its surface is supposed considerably to exceed the dimensions of the whole island of Great Britain. They are afterwards subdivided into innumerable columns of five or six miles in length, and almost as many in breadth, followed by innumerable flocks of sea fowl. The great Icelandic column sends off one division along the coast of Norway, which again subdivides itself into two; one passing through the Sound, into the Baltic, the other steering towards Holstein, Bremen, &c. The largest and deepest column falls directly upon the isles of Shetland and Orkney. After passing these, it divides itself into two bodies; one moving along the eastern shores of Great Britain, detaches smaller shoals to the coasts of Friezland, Holland, Flanders, and France; while the other, passing along the western side of Scotland, and visiting the Hebrides, directs its course into the seas that surround Ireland. In April, or the beginning of May, the

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van of the grand column makes its appearance off Shetland, and the main body arrives in June; towards the end of which month, and that of July, they are in the greatest perfection. The remains of this vast body, having completed their summer's tour, and employed, fed, and enriched immense numbers of people, are supposed to reassemble, and return to their Arc-asylum, where their prolific powers soon enable them to repair their losses.

Ever since the year 1164, the inhabitants of the Netherlands have been engaged in the herring fishery; and, from the end of the fourteenth century, it has been to them an inexhaustible fund of wealth.

The population of the Shetland islands was, in 1798, computed at 20,186, which is as great a number as they can well support, unless manufactures were established, or the fisheries carried on in a more vigorous and commercial manner. The people are in a state of great poverty. Provisions are very cheap, but money is very scarce. They have, however, two ample resources, in the fisheries, and the numberless flocks of sea fowl, in the catching of which they are very dexterous.

In the northern and western isles of Scotland, the condition of the people is nearly the same; but their manners are, in many respects, dissimilar: those of the Hebrides being of Celtic, those of the Orkneys and Shetlands chiefly of Scandinavian origin.

From what country these isles, supposed by some to be the Thule of the ancients, were first peopled is unknown. During the twelfth, and the greatest part of the thirteenth century, they were subject to the Norwegian kings; and, in the year 1263, they were sold to Alexander, king of Scotland. They were afterwards subject to Denmark. In the reign of James III. they were ceded to Scotland, by Christian I. as a portion with his daughter Margaret; and all future pretensions on the part of Denmark, ceased on the marriage of James VI. with the princess Anne, of that country.

Theoretical writers have formed, in their closets, a variety

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of plans for the improvement of those desolate regions. The want of capital, the want of fuel, and a tempestuous and rainy climate, hostile to vegetation, are formidable obstacles to the introduction of manufactures, and the improvement of agriculture. The scarcity of fuel in many respects counterbalances the cheapness of living. It is not less interesting than curious, that most of these northern and western isles, which are now totally destitute of trees, and where none can, without extreme difficulty, be raised, afford evident indications that they once abounded in wood. Numerous roots and trunks of large trees, found in the morasses, are unequivocal proofs of the fact; and it must be left to the naturalist to account for this singular circumstance. The fisheries, which may be carried on with a much less capital than any considerable manufacturing enterprise, seem to be the only channel that nature has pointed out for the primary introduction of that wealth, which must serve as a basis to every further improvement.

GENERAL HISTORY.

The first authentic accounts that we have of the Scots is from the Romans. Of a country so remote, and never subject entirely to their dominion, they could not acquire any accurate knowledge. It appears, however, that Scotland was anciently inhabited by tribes of different origin. The Caledonians, supposed to have been a Celtic or perhaps Gothic colony, were, in all probability, the primitive inhabitants. The Picts seem to have been those Britons whom the Roman conquest drove northward; and the Scots were probably a Celtic colony, which first settled in Ireland, and afterwards passed over from that country, and formed establishments in Scotland. Caledonia, however, was the name by which the coun-

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try was known to the Romans, and Caledonians that by which they distinguished its people. When Agricola first carried the Roman arms into that country, he found it possessed by a fierce and warlike race, whom he defeated in that memorable battle, in which they made, under Galgacus their king, so glorious a stand against foreign invasion. The Caledonians, although repulsed, were not conquered: and the Romans, after being long harassed by their desultory inroads, at last constructed the famous wall between the firths of Forth and Clyde, and here fixed the boundaries of their empire, without attempting any farther extension of conquest. This distant frontier was found so difficult to defend, that Adrian contracted the limits of the Roman province, by building a second wall, which extended from Newcastle to Carlisle. The introduction of Christianity is said by some to have taken place about the beginning of the third century; by others as late as the sixth. The history of Scotland is, by Dr. Robertson, divided into four periods. The first of these reaches from the origin of the monarchy, to the reign of Kenneth II. king of the Scots, who, having vanquished the Picts about the year 838, united the two nations, and extended his dominion over all the country, from the wall of Adrian to the Northern ocean. The second comprises the space of time from that epoch to the demise of Alexander III. The third period extends from that time to the death of James V. The fourth dated its commencement at the death of James V. and terminated at the accession of James VI. to the throne of England, when the union of the two crowns was effected. We pass over the first of these periods, which is accounted fabulous and obscure, with a single remark.

While the Danes were ravaging England, they made similar attempts upon Scotland; but the Scots were more fortunate than the English; for while the Danes were erecting a monarchy in England, they were every where defeated in Scotland with great slaughter. Being masters of the sea, they harassed the country by successive invasions, and, in

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conjunction with the Norwegians, conquered the Hebrides, and most of the isles, where they erected a number of petty sovereignties; but they could never make any permanent establishment in Scotland.

The memorable epoch of the Norman conquest of England, may be considered as the middle of what Dr. Robertson calls the second period of Scottish history. The feudal system is generally said to have been introduced into Scotland by Malcolm III. about A. D. 1090. Before this event it is thought that no written charters, or titles to lands, existed in that part of Britain. Previous to that period, possession alone ascertained the property of land, as it must every where have done in the infancy of society, and as it does at this day in the case of personal property. But the feudal law naturally introduced written deeds, for the ascertaining of rights, and of the conditions of tenures. Malcolm was succeeded by his brother Donald VII. who was dethroned by Duncan II. The crown afterwards devolved successively on Edgar, son of Malcolm III., Alexander I., and David I., who ascended the throne A. D. 1124. David shone both as a politician and a warrior; and, under his government, Scotland was prosperous and powerful. He was liberal to ecclesiastics, and generous in his religious endowments. He displayed his magnificence in the erection of churches and monasteries; and the most splendid religious edifices in Scotland owe to him their foundation.

David was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm IV., and he by William, surnamed from his rash valour, the Lion. The unsuccessful courage of this monarch brought his kingdom into a state of humiliation. Having invaded England, he was made prisoner at Alnwick, in Northumberland, and conveyed into Normandy. In order to regain his liberty, he was obliged to do homage to Henry for the whole kingdom of Scotland, which, by this transaction, was made feudatory and dependent on England. According to Speed, he also agreed to pay 100,000*l.* for his ransom.

William the Lion had for his successor Alexander II., who

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was succeeded by Alexander III. A. D. 1249. This prince dispossessed the Norwegians of the Hebrides, and the Orkney islands, which they had long held in possession. Scotland flourished under his reign; but his death ushered in a dreadful train of calamities. Having lost his only son, and presumptive heir, and his daughter, the queen of Norway, being also dead, Alexander had assembled the barons of his kingdom, and prevailed on them to swear that, in case of his death, without male issue, they would acknowledge his granddaughter, the young princess Margaret of Norway, for their queen. Alexander died A. D. 1285, about two years and a half after he had thus regulated the succession. At his demise, Margaret of Norway was only three years old, and a regency was consequently established. A treaty was also concluded between Eric king of Norway, her father, Edward I. king of England, her great uncle, and the regency of Scotland, by which it was agreed, that the young princess should be educated at the court of England, and married to the heir apparent of that crown. Thus did the prudent Edward project the beneficial measure of the union of the two kingdoms, which so long afterwards took place. Providence at that time disappointed the design. The young princess died on her passage, and Scotland was split into factions by the competitions for the vacant throne. The two principal candidates were Robert Bruce, and John Baliol; the former grandson, the latter great grandson of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. Both had hereditary claims nearly equal; and both were allied to some of the principal families in the kingdom, and supported by powerful friends. The Scottish nobility, to avoid the calamities of a civil war, referred to the king of England, the decision of this important affair, without foreseeing the consequences of so dangerous a measure, as thus throwing themselves into the hands of an enterprising, and politic monarch, commanding a powerful and warlike people, and at peace with all the world.

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Edward, being thus chosen the umpire of this important question, considered it as a fit opportunity for reviving the claim of sovereignty over Scotland, which Henry II. had established, and compelled William the Lion to acknowledge. It is not to our present purpose to examine these claims, which are now wholly uninteresting. The consequences were severely felt by both kingdoms, but especially by Scotland, which, in addition to the calamities of civil war, was nearly subjected to a foreign yoke. A war was kindled between England and Scotland, which continued, with little intermission, more than seventy years, and was carried on with a degree of animosity seldom exceeded in the annals of Christian nations.

Under the pretext of examining, with greater solemnity, the different claims to the succession, Edward summoned all the barons of Scotland to Norham, where he opened the business by a declaration of his own paramount authority over the kingdom; adding, that in quality of sovereign lord of Scotland, he was come to render impartial justice to all. He gave them three weeks to consider of the subject, during which time they were to prepare whatever they might object to his demands, and produce all the public acts and monuments by which they might think to invalidate his pretensions. At the time appointed, Bruce and Baliol, the two principal competitors, acknowledged Scotland to be a fief of the English crown, and swore fealty to Edward as their sovereign lord. The rest of the barons, being either gained or intimidated, followed their example. The troops, which Edward had marched to Norham, under the ostensible pretext of guarding the states of Scotland, contributed not a little to strike them with terror. They considered it unsafe to disoblige the king, or to act in opposition to the candidates, one of whom was to be their master, and consequently the business was terminated without difficulty. But another step, still more important, remained to be taken. Edward represented to the competitors, that it was in vain to pronounce a

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sentence, without the necessary powers for its execution; and demanded possession of the kingdom in order to deliver it to him whose right should be deemed preferable. This demand was also agreed to, and the earl of Angus was the only one of the barons, who refused to deliver up to a foreign power, the castles in his custody. The whole series of these transactions seem to indicate a strange degree of pusillanimity in the nobles; but the two competitors, Baliol and Bruce, divided all Scotland between them, and their conduct determined that of the whole kingdom. Commissioners were appointed. The respective claims being examined in his presence, he propounded several questions concerning the Scottish laws of succession, and a variety of legal points were discussed and explained. The candidates presented their memorials, produced genealogies and precedents, and pleaded their own cause before the king and the commissioners. The whole business was conducted according to the most solemn forms of judicial inquiry. All this ostensible appearance of disinterested equity, and impartial discussion, clothed with the venerable garb of legal forms, might, without prejudice to his designs, be easily preserved by Edward, in the midst of commissioners and clients devoted to his interest, or overawed by his power, and the Scottish historians consider his decision as pre-determined in conformity to the deep-laid plan of his own politics. Some of the best of them, however, do not deny its legality. Dr. Robertson thus exhibits his ideas of the union of legal propriety and political expediency in Edward's ultimate award. "According to the rules of succession," says that able historian, "which are now established, the right of Baliol was preferable." But, in the next page, he expresses his opinion of the motives by which Edward was actuated in making his decision. "Edward, finding Baliol the most obsequious and the least formidable of the two competitors, gave judgment in his favour." Whether the motives of justice or interest preponderated in dictating this sentence, it is impossible to determine. Such, however, was

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the result of a business, so intricate in its nature, and so disastrous in its consequences. The claims of Bruce and Baliol, being formally discussed, eight more candidates brought forward their pretensions; but their titles were found defective, and Edward pronounced Baliol feudatory king of Scotland, under the paramount authority of himself and his successors. Baliol, by an authentic act, acknowledged in the most express terms, the sovereignty of the English monarch over Scotland; did homage to him as his liege lord; and submitted to whatever conditions he was pleased to prescribe. This being the most important event in the early political history of Scotland, it is here detailed with all the precision necessary to exhibit a distinct view of an affair, which involved in the most dreadful calamities the inhabitants of both kingdoms. These events, and a multitude of others, which history records, shew the superiority of modern to ancient policy, in precisely ascertaining the laws of succession, and keeping the royal line as distinct as possible. Such is the nature of human affairs, that the contentions of the great, when carried to extremity, always bring misery on entire nations.

Throughout the whole of this intricate and important affair, Edward acted with consummate policy. Having placed on the throne of Scotland a vassal prince devoted to his interests, and obliged the nobles to resign the liberty and independence of their country, he imagined his dominion to be firmly established, and began too soon to let his new vassals feel the weight of his sovereignty. The fierce and formerly independant Scots bore with impatience a yoke to which they were unaccustomed. Baliol, himself, being repeatedly harassed with frequent summonses to appear in England, and answer before Edward, to various complaints made against him by his own subjects, and often treated in the most humiliating manner, grew sensible of the degraded state of his vassallage. His passive spirit was at length roused to revolt, and entering into negociations with France, he began to adopt measures for

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asserting the independence of his kingdom. Edward, receiving intelligence of his designs, demanded possession of the castles of Berwick, Jedburgh, and Roxburgh, as pledges of his fealty. Baliol, after some temporizing, not only refused these demands, but, relying on the assistance of France, renounced his vassallage. Edward at the head of a powerful army immediately marched towards Scotland, where he was joined by Bruce and his party. It is said that on this occasion he promised to place Bruce on the throne. Knowing how much expedition was necessary for preventing the preparations of Baliol, he accelerated his measures; advanced into the kingdom; and reduced fortress after fortress with amazing rapidity: Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, and all the principal places in the kingdom, were successively conquered; so that before the end of the campaign, all Scotland was so completely subdued, that Baliol, and the whole nation, had no other resource than to throw themselves on his mercy. The king of Scotland, therefore, appeared before Edward with a white rod in his hand, and formally resigned to him the kingdom to be disposed of at his pleasure.

In order to confirm his new acquisition, Edward convened an assembly of the states of Scotland at Berwick, where all the nobility and officers of the kingdom took the oath of allegiance to him as their lawful sovereign on whom the crown was devolved by the revolt of Baliol his vassal. Edward might there have been crowned king of Scotland; but his design was to unite the kingdom to England. The union of Wales with England had already been effected; and it was the grand object of Edward's policy to form the whole island of Great Britain into one united monarchy; a design which certainly tended to the general tranquillity of the country, and the happiness of its inhabitants. This sagacious prince, however, omitted nothing that could contribute to secure his dominion over the kingdom which he had conquered. All the nobles, and officers of Scotland were obliged to deliver to him the castles, and places, of which they were yet in possession. Earl

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William Douglas the only one who refused, was sent prisoner to England. All the other barons whom it was thought necessary to secure, with Baliol were, also sent to England. Of these some were shut up in prisons, and others left at liberty on condition of not passing to the north of the Trent, under the penalty of death. Edward also removed to London the crown and sceptre, with all the regalia of Scotland, as well as the public archives, and every other memorial of its former independence. Desirous to obliterate from the minds of the Scots every remembrance of their existence as a nation, he ransacked churches and monasteries, and destroyed or carried into England their historical monuments. This destruction of the Scottish records, throws a singular obscurity on the history of that kingdom, which can only be collected from such imperfect chronicles, as escaped the general wreck. Among the relics of the Scottish antiquity, Edward did not forget to remove from Scone to London the celebrated stone on which the inauguration of the kings of Scotland used to be performed. The curious history of this stone, which is yet to be seen in Westminster Abbey, shews the power of superstition and the influence of imagination. According to the best accounts Kenneth I. king of the Scots, having, with great slaughter defeated the Picts near the monastery of Scone, placed there a stone, which vulgar tradition reported to be the same that had once served Jacob for a pillar. Kenneth is said to have inclosed this stone, in a wooden chair for the inauguration of the Scottish kings his successors. From time immemorial the whole Scottish nation had annexed to this stone an idea of fatality, and upon it was this inscription:

> "Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
> Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem."

> "Or fate's deceived, and heaven decrees in vain,
> Or where they find this stone the Scots shall reign."

This stone, indeed, was regarded as the palladium of Scotland. The whole nation believed, that while it remained in

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the country, the state would continue unshaken. Edward, knowing the power of imagination in animating courage, or producing pusillanimity, carried away this fatal stone, to excite in the Scots a belief that the time of the dissolution of their monarchy was arrived, and all hopes of regaining their national independence extinguished.

In this moment of general consternation and dismay, when pusillanimity and terror seemed to have paralized the barons, and people of Scotland, an obscure individual, of no high rank, and of still less fortune, arose to assert the honour and independence of his country. William Wallace, to whom many fabulous exploits are ascribed, but who in reality, merited the pen of a Homer to celebrate his actions, ventured, almost singly, to attack the colossal power of the conqueror. His band of troops was so inconsiderable, and his progress so rapid, that the boldness and success of his enterprize are equally astonishing. His army was daily increased by the numbers whom success allured to his standard. His courage and conduct raised him so high in the esteem of the army, that he was, by a kind of military election, declared regent of the kingdom. Edward turned all his attention to quell the Scottish revolt. Having entered Scotland, he advanced to Falkirk, where he met the army conducted by Wallace, and an obstinate battle again decided the fate of the kingdom. The contest was bloody, but the issue was fatal to the Scots, whose undisciplined bands were not a match for Edward's veteran troops. Wallace was defeated with so prodigious a slaughter, that according to some authors, the Scots lost 60,000 men, while others reduce the number to 10,000. All that can with certainty be said, is, that the slaughter of the Scots was dreadful, and Edward's victory complete. Wallace, with a few faithful followers, retired among the mountains and marshes, which nature had rendered inaccessible to armies, and perceiving that his patriotic exertions inspired the nobles with jealousy, he resigned the regency.

Comyn was on his resignation declared regent; an office,

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at that time, of little consequence, as it gave him authority over only a small part of the kingdom, and a few scattered troops, who had escaped from the late battle. Through the mediation of Philip king of France, a truce for seven months was procured for such of the Scots as refused to submit to Edward's authority. This gave the new regent an opportunity of exciting the barons to shake off the English yoke. Roused by his exhortations, both the nobles and people immediately flew to arms. In a short time all Scotland rose, the whole mass of the inhabitants took arms the same day, and almost the same hour. The English garrisons, being every where attacked at the same moment, had no other alternative than that of being put to the sword, or of surrendering on condition of immediately evacuating the kingdom. This general revolt, which happened about the end of the year 1299, induced Edward to march early in the ensuing spring, and a third time to enter Scotland. The Scottish army, which consisted only of an ill armed and undisciplined militia, not able to stand against Edward's veteran army, retired at his approach. The king, however, with his usual promptitude, pursued, overtook, and routed them in a decisive engagement. The shattered remains of their forces, retreated into the marshes, which were known only to the natives, and into which the conquerors durst not continue their pursuit. Despairing of any good effects from further resistance, the Scots now had recourse to negotiation, and entreaties; but the inexorable Edward, rejecting all terms of reconciliation, they put themselves and their country, under the papal protection, and made Boniface VIII. an offer of the sovereignty. This produced a brief from the pope to Edward, exhibiting his own claim to the crown of Scotland. The English monarch assembled a parliament at Lincoln, for the purpose of deliberating on the pretensions of the Roman see. The papal brief was answered by a manifesto; the parliament asserting, that England possessed, from time immemorial, the right of sovereignty over Scotland. This manifesto of

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the parliament, was followed by a memorial from the king in justification of his measures. This letter being written in the most respectful manner, without any expressions that could be offensive to his holiness, the difference between Edward and the pope was accommodated; and, at the solicitation of the French king, the truce with the revolted Scots was prolonged. At its expiration, Edward sent Segrave, governor of Berwick, with a formidable force, to renew the war, and complete the reduction of Scotland. This general apprehending no danger from the Scots, whom he considered as unable to make any resistance, divided his army into three columns, in order more completely to ravage the country. Meeting, however, unexpectedly with the Scottish army, under the command of Comyn and Frazer, all the three bodies were, in succession, defeated. In consequence of this disaster, Edward, the next year, 1303, entered the fourth time into Scotland, with so numerous an army, that he penetrated to the extremities of the kingdom, and ravaged the country, without meeting with any considerable resistance: the Scots being unable to oppose so formidable a power. Wallace, alone, with a body of troops, continually harassed him, and revenged the Scots on such of the English soldiers as happened to stray from the main body of the army. Stirling castle was besieged the whole winter, and was at last obliged to capitulate. By its surrender Edward became master of all the fortified places; and, in this fourth expedition, completed his third conquest of Scotland. A few determined patriots, however, retreating to places inaccessible to hostile approach, still held the conqueror's power at defiance; but Wallace, the principal instigator and soul of revolt, being betrayed into the hands of the English, was tried, condemned, and executed, as guilty of treason. His head was, by Edward's command, placed upon London bridge, and his four quarters hung up in the four principal towns of Scotland. Historians deplore his fate, and celebrate his virtues; but if the cruelties imputed to Wallace had any foundation in fact, it would diminish some-

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what our opinion of his character, though the conduct of Edward cannot, for a moment, be justified, even upon the principle of retaliation. His life has, very lately, furnished materials for an elegant historical romance.

The Scots so many times vanquished, as often rebelled; no disasters could bring their minds to submit to a foreign yoke. Bruce, the rival of Baliol, being dead, his son, the famous Robert Bruce, resolved to assert with his sword, his claim to the crown of his ancestors. He then resided at London, as a prisoner at large, but, finding that Edward had received intelligence of his design, immediately made his escape. Arrived in Scotland, and suspecting the fidelity of Comyn, with whom he had concerted his plan, and maintained a constant correspondence, he met with a messenger charged with letters from that nobleman to the king. Having seized the messenger, and examined his despatches, his suspicions were confirmed. In consequence of this discovery he immediately repaired to Dumfries, where meeting with Comyn, he stabbed him with his own hand. Having thus drawn the sword, he had no other alternative than to throw away the scabbard; and fully convinced that prompt and decisive measures could alone afford any hope of success or safety, he assumed the regal title, and was solemnly crowned at Scone. The new king of Scotland soon dispossessed the English of many of their fortified places; but the Earl of Pembroke, having entered the kingdom with a numerous army, defeated him in two successive engagements. Robert, now reduced to the last extremity, was obliged to escape out of Scotland, and to take refuge in the Hebrides; while Edward, advancing with a powerful army, sent out detachments on all sides to seize his adherents, to whom no mercy was shewn. Three brothers of the new king died on the scaffold. His queen being taken and sent into England, was kept in close confinement. The countess of Buchan, having assisted at Robert's coronation, was put in a wooden cage, and hung up on the walls of Berwick, as an object of ridicule to the people. Mary, the other sister, un-

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derwent the same fate at Roxburg. The earl of Athol, allied to the royal families both of Scotland and England, and consequently Edward's relative, was distinguished from the rest, by the fatal honour of being hanged on a gallows of an extraordinary height. Such was Edward's inexorable severity, and such the ferocious spirit of the times.

Edward, having taken a severe vengeance on such of king Robert's adherents as unfortunately fell into his hands, retired to Carlisle, where he summoned the last parliament of his reign, to deliberate on the means of securing the possession of Scotland, by finally uniting it to England. Shortly after he left the command of the army to the earl of Pembroke, and returned to London. Robert no sooner heard of his absence, than sallying from his retreat, he assembled the scattered remains of his army, reinforced it with fresh supplies, and attacked the English general, whom he totally defeated, and took prisoner. He then marched against the earl of Gloucester, whom he obliged to retreat to the castle of Ayre, and afterwards took and dismantled several towns. Edward, surprised and exasperated at this unexpected revolution, summoned all the barons of his realm to meet him at Carlisle, in the summer A. D. 1307, under the penalty of forfeiting their fees, resolving to draw out the whole military force of his kingdom, and to render Scotland, from one extremity to the other, an entire scene of desolation. But divine Providence disappointed this sanguinary design. Arrived at Carlisle, and ready to carry fire and sword into every corner of the devoted kingdom, he fell sick of a dysentery, and soon after died, leaving the execution of his sanguinary projects to his son and successor, to whom he gave strict charge never to grant peace or truce till the final subjugation of Scotland should be accomplished.

King Robert immediately prepared to take advantage of the consternation of the English, occasioned by the death of their king; but a violent fit of sickness prevented him from carrying his measures into effect. The new king of England,

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advancing as far as Dumfries, struck the whole kingdom with terror. Nothing could exceed the despair of the Scots on this occasion; their king lying dangerously ill, and their forces, both in number and discipline, far inferior to those of the enemy. Edward's return to England, after leaving the command of the army to John Comyn, a Scottish baron, was a matter of surprise to both kingdoms, and reanimated the hopes of the Scots, not less than it excited the murmurs of the English. Nothing, indeed, could be more extraordinary than the conduct of Edward II. in thus relinquishing the conquest of Scotland. But he had not the warlike inclinations of his predecessor; and the blandishments of a court were to him more alluring than the hardships and hazards of a campaign. His appointment of Comyn to the command was also a subject of offence to the army. This general, although the determined enemy of king Robert, was a Scot, and the English thought themselves dishonoured by the preference given to a foreigner. Disaster was the consequence of these discontents. Comyn, willing to take advantage of the king's sickness, advanced in order to attack the Scots. Robert, though he found himself extremely weak, thought, that in so critical a moment, flight or retreat might dishearten his troops, and eventually occasion the loss of his kingdom. Having, therefore, mounted his horse, supported by two esquires, he drew up his army, and, with a composure that produced a wonderful effect, waited the approach of the enemy. Victory soon declared in his favour, and the defeat of the English was the more astonishing, as, in addition to superiority of numbers, they were the very same troops who had vanquished the Scots in so many engagements: but Edward I. no longer led them. After this defeat, Comyn retired into England, and Robert ravaged the whole county of Argyle, which still belonged to he English; and from that time the Scots no longer dreaded the army of the English.

It is said that Edward II., in 1307, the second year of his reign, led an army in person into Scotland, but returned with-

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out effecting any thing of importance. During two successive years, 1310 and 1311, Robert headed two desultory expeditions into England, and carried off a great booty; and the year following he recovered Perth, Lancrie, Dumfries, and Roxburgh. The Isle of Man voluntarily submitted to his dominion; and the castle of Edinburgh being carried by assault, he became master of all the fortified places except Stirling castle, which was then the strongest in Scotland.

This train of events, so adverse to the English, threatened their complete expulsion from Scotland, and roused their king to decisive exertion. He therefore summoned all his vassals to meet him with their troops. The general rendezvous was fixed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and, so great was the alacrity of all, that Edward saw himself at the head of 100,000 men, English, Welsh, Gascons, and Irish. To this numerous army, the king of Scotland could oppose but 30,000 men; but these were inured to war, and had frequently been victorious. Edward, entering the country without opposition, advanced towards Stirling, while Robert made every preparation to give him a vigorous reception. Taking into consideration the superiority of numbers with which he had to contend, he judiciously drew up his army on advantageous ground, where craggy rocks on one of the flanks, and a deep morass on the other, prevented it from being surrounded. The Scots being resolved to conquer or die, received the English with such steady and determined resolution, that they soon threw their numerous army into confusion, and routed them with a most dreadful slaughter. This decisive battle was fought near a small river called Bannockburn, on the 25th of July, A. D. 1314, and, since the memorable day of Hastings, England had never received so terrible a defeat. The different historians, as is ever the case, furnish discordant accounts of this battle, and the loss there sustained. The Scottish historians make the whole loss of the English amount to 50,000; and say, that the number of prisoners taken was greater than that of the victorious army. The English, on the contrary,

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reduce the number of their slain to 10,000. Consequences often elucidate those facts, which contradictory evidence labours to obscure. Reasoning on this principle, it is evident that the victory of the Scots was decisive, and the loss of the English exceedingly great: for the latter made a precipitate retreat, not thinking themselves in safety until they reached York, and did not again venture to face the king of Scotland in the field. The Scots, on the contrary, acquired an evident superiority, and were, so long as the war continued, invariably successful. Robert at last besieged and took the strong frontier town of Berwick, and his army ravaged most of the northern borders of England.

In this disastrous state of affairs, Edward II. had recourse to the pope, and intreated his holiness to procure him a peace, or at least a truce with Scotland. John XXII., who then filled the papal chair, immediately complied with his request, and undertook to make peace between the kings of England and Scotland, not as mediator, but in the character of sovereign arbitrator. For this purpose, he sent into England two legates, with a commission to conclude a peace between the two contending princes, and to compel both parties to accept it under pain of excommunication and interdict. The Scottish monarch, perceiving the conditions of the treaty to be decidedly partial to England, rejected the papal arbitration. The legates, in consequence, pronounced sentence of excommunication against him, and laid an interdict on his kingdom. Robert, in the mean while, regardless of a censure which he considered as unjust, continued the war, and committed great ravages. He plundered and burnt Northallerton, Boroughbridge, Scarborough, and many other places, and almost desolated the northern parts of England. The English were every where beaten, and had, at the same time, the mortification to find the spiritual arms of Rome unsuccessful. After much solicitation, they obtained A. D. 1319, a truce for two years. This short period was no sooner elapsed, than Edward invaded Scotland, in hopes of repairing all his former

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losses by one decisive effort; but this, like his former expeditions, was only a series of disasters. Having neglected the proper means of furnishing his army with provisions, of which the Scots, by removing or destroying every article of subsistence, had effectually deprived him in their country, his retreat became indispensably necessary. This, however, was only the beginning of his disasters. The English no sooner began their retreat, than the king of Scotland pursued, and overtook them at a place called Blackmore. Here they were not only defeated with the loss of their baggage, but the whole army was almost totally dispersed, and Edward himself narrowly escaped. The Scottish king, continuing his march, desolated the country with fire and sword as far as to the very walls of York, and returned to his kingdom with a great booty. Being desirous, however, of giving some respite to his kingdom, he consented to a truce for thirteen years. By this treaty, concluded A. D. 1323, a temporary stop was put to those ravages, which, during so long a time, had almost desolated so considerable a part of Great Britain. This period, notwithstanding the frequent recurrence of bloody wars between the two kingdoms, may be considered as the epoch of the complete restoration of the Scottish monarchy.

The thirty-eight years which preceded this truce, include a period of indescribable calamity to the inhabitants of the two countries. Both England and Scotland had experienced the direful effects of a war carried on with little regard to humanity. Almost the whole of the former, and a very considerable part of the latter kingdom, had repeatedly been ravaged with a ferocity of which a modern reader can scarcely form any idea. The severity of Edward I. excited a bitter animosity between the two nations, which mutual injuries kept alive. The ferocious manners of the age tinctured all their conduct with barbarity, and merciless devastation marked the footsteps of the armies. The events of this not very remote period, exhibit the contrast between ancient and modern times.

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During the latter part of the reign of Robert I., Scotland was in the zenith of her glory. The whole life of that monarch had been a scene of extraordinary exertion, attended with uncommon success. Robert's abilities were certainly of the first order; but, had his destiny compelled him to contend with the warlike genius and enterprising spirit of the first Edward, instead of the pusillanimity and improvidence of his successor, it is difficult to say what would have been the result of the contest.

Robert I. was succeeded by David II. On his death, A. D. 1371, the crown devolved on the house of Stuart, the head of which had married the daughter of Robert I. The first king of that family was Robert II., whom the Scotch historians represent as a prince possessed of great talents, both for war and peace; but they have been more careful to relate the military than the civil transactions of his reign. "Skirmishes and inroads of little consequence," says Dr. Robertson, "they describe minutely; but with regard to every thing that happened during several years of tranquillity, they are altogether silent." This reproach is applicable to the historians of all other nations, as well as to those of Scotland. This prince was succeeded by his son Robert III., whose infirm and sickly constitution incapacitated him from performing the functions of royalty, and obliged him to entrust the administration of affairs to his brother, the duke of Albany. Robert, suspecting that the duke had formed the design of transferring the crown to his own family, resolved to send his son James into France, to secure him from any traitorous attempt. But the young prince was intercepted in his passage by the English, and, after a long captivity, was obliged to pay an exorbitant ransom. His detention was, in a great measure, compensated by the excellent education which he received at the court of England, in the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V. During his absence, the barons of Scotland had rendered themselves independent of all control. In England he had seen a new order of things; nobles great, but not in-

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dependent; a well arranged system of laws, and a regular administration of government. But Scotland presented a different scene. Universal anarchy prevailed. The weak were exposed to the oppression of the strong. In every corner, some barbarous chieftain ruled at pleasure, and neither feared the king nor pitied the people. Such was the aspect of Scotland at the accession of James I. to its degraded and dependent throne; and to remedy so disorderly a state of things was the principal busines of his reign. He was too prudent to employ open force, for the accomplishment of his purpose, and chose the gentler, but more effectual remedy of laws and statutes. Having called a parliament, he obtained an act empowering him to summon such as had, during the preceding reigns, obtained possession of any crown lands, to produce the titles by which they held them. In a subsequent parliament, another statute was enacted, by which all those leagues and combinations, which had formerly rendered the nobles so formidable to the crown, were strictly prohibited. His next measure was the seizure of the duke of Albany, and his sons, together with the lord Lennox, who were all tried and condemned by their peers, but on what charge, cannot be ascertained. Their execution struck the whole order of the nobility with terror, while their forfeitures added considerable possessions to the crown. The king proceeded still farther, and began to resume several of the crown lands, which had been granted to different lords by the two dukes of Albany. These measures at length alarmed the whole body of the nobility. An assembly of turbulent barons, who had not been much accustomed to calculate the consequences of legislative ordinances, appears to have made little opposition to the establishment of laws, which militated against their authority; but, when they began to feel their operation, the whole order immediately took the alarm. A conspiracy was, in consequence, formed against the king, who was murdered at a monastery near Perth, A. D. 1437, in the forty-fourth year of his age. James was a prince of great abilities. Had his kingdom been more civili-

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zed, his reign might have been happy. His political maxims were too refined for the age in which he lived.

The vigorous reign of James I., was succeeded by the long minority of James II. Crichton, who had the chief direction of affairs, had been the minister of James I. He had imbibed his master's political sentiments in regard to humbling the aristocracy of the nobles, and forcibly impressed them on the mind of his pupil. But what James I. laboured to accomplish gradually, and by legal means, his successor attempted with a precipitancy and violence characteristic of the age. The celebrated family of Douglas had in the reign of Robert I., begun to rise above the rest of the nobility. William, the sixth earl of that name, rivalled the monarch in magnificence and splendor. Two thousand horsemen composed his ordinary retinue; and the number of his vassals and retainers enabling him to set the royal power at defiance, he almost openly aspired to independence. Crichton, the regent, finding the royal authority too weak to punish so powerful an offender, decoyed him by fair promises to an interview in the castle of Edinburgh, and there murdered both him and his brother. James II. having attained the age of maturity, and assumed the reins of government, resolved to employ every means for depressing the nobility. William earl of Douglas, who was neither less powerful, nor less formidable to the crown than his predecessor, whom Crichton had murdered, having formed a league with many other great barons, had united almost half the kingdom against the sovereign authority. But his credulity led him into the same snare which had proved so fatal to his predecessor. Relying on the king's promises, and on a safe conduct granted under the great seal, he suffered himself to be allured to an interview at Stirling castle, where James with his own hand stabbed him to the heart. This unprincipled action of the king filled the nation with astonishment and horror. The new earl of Douglas put himself at the head of his confederates, and vassals. The king advanced with his forces. Those of the earl were vastly superior

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in numbers, but when they expected the signal to engage, he ordered a retreat to the camp. Disgusted at this mark of pusillanimity, many of his most zealous adherents immediately abandoned him. Being soon driven out of the kingdom, and obliged to seek refuge in England, his vast possessions were seized by the king. The ruin of that great family, which had so long overawed the crown, seemed to paralize the turbulent and enterprising spirit of the nobles. James, resolving to improve so favourable an opportunity, summoned a parliament, and obtained a variety of statutes strengthening the royal prerogative, and subversive of the powers and privileges of the nobility. During the whole course of his reign, he pursued with unremitted preseverance and vigour, the plan which he had so successfully commenced, and undoubtedly would have completed, had not his sudden death, in the midst of his career, freed the nobility of Scotland from the iron hand of a master, whose genius and courage threatened the total extinction of their privileges and powers.

In the conduct of James III., his successor, all the errors of a feeble mind were conspicuous. He was, no less than his father and grandfather, the declared enemy of the nobility. Every measure of James II. had effectually tended to undermine some of the pillars on which aristocracy rested, but through the injudicious conduct of his son, it regained its former stability. He aimed at the depression of the nobles, but as his plans were impolitic, his reign was disastrous; and its termination tragical. In the year 1488, in the thirty-sixth of his age, he fell in battle against his barons.

His successor James IV. honoured the barons with his confidence, and experienced from them a suitable return of duty and affection. During his reign, the enmity between the crown and the nobles seems to have ceased. Having rashly invaded England, while Henry VIII. was in France, he, and most of his greatest lords, fell in the famous battle of Flodden, fought with the English, A. D. 1513. In that battle the Scots lost their king, one archbishop, two bishops, one

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abbot, twelve earls, seventeen other great barons, and 8000 common soldiers. This was a terrible disaster to the aristocratic order; and if a prince of full age, possessing the same talents, and actuated by the same views as James I. or James II. had then ascended the throne, he would not have found the subversion of the feudal system in Scotland, a work of any great difficulty.

The long minority that succeeded to the battle of Flodden, enabled the nobles to recover the influence which they lost by the death of so many of their most powerful leaders in that fatal overthrow. James V. was, at his accession, an infant of one year old. The office of regent was conferred on his cousin the duke of Albany; who, although a man of genius and enterprise, soon discovered the impotence of his authority. Although he made several attempts to extend the royal prerogative, the barons with equal resolution, asserted their privileges, and taking advantage of the minority of their king, set the power of the regent at defiance. The duke, therefore, after many unsuccessful struggles, voluntarily retired into France. The king having, in the seventeenth year of his age, assumed the reins of government with the consent of the nobles, who appointed eight of their body to assist him in the administration, soon found himself in a disagreeable predicament. The earl of Angus, one of the number, acquired the absolute possession, both of the regal authority, and the person of the king, who had sagacity enough to observe that although he was nominally a monarch, he was actually a prisoner. In spite of the violence of those whom the earl had appointed to watch all his motions, he escaped to Stirling, the only place in the kingdom which afforded him a prospect of safety. There he was joined by many of the nobles, who were incensed at the overbearing ambition of Angus, and that powerful earl and his adherents were obliged to take refuge in England.

James now enjoyed not only the name, but the authority of a king; and though young, had from nature an excellent un-

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derstanding, but his education had been neglected. His heart was good, but his passions were violent. He had early imbibed an implacable hatred against the nobles; and the plan which he formed for their depression was more systematic than that of any of his predecessors. Convinced of the inability of the regal power to accomplish that purpose, he resolved to counterbalance the influence of the aristocracy, by the exaltation of the clergy. This powerful body was more dependent on the crown in Scotland than in any other country.

The Papal see, notwithstanding its unremitted efforts for the extension of its authority, had in a great measure neglected Scotland, as a poor kingdom, from which little emolument could be derived, and had left to its princes the uncontrolled exercise of powers, which it had disputed with the sovereigns of more wealthy dominions. The Scottish monarchs possessed the sole right of nomination to bishopries and abbeys; and James very justly concluded, that those who expected preferment from his favour would be the most willing to promote his designs. Many of the ecclesiastics were distinguished for their talents and their ambition, and James, being certain of a powerful co-operation, entered with vigour on the execution of his plan. In the first place, he took the precautionary measure of repairing the fortifications of Edinburgh, Stirling, and other strong places, and of filling his magazines with arms and ammunition. Being thus prepared for every event, he no longer concealed his aversion to the nobles. All the offices of honour and emolument were bestowed on the clergy, and they alone had the management of public affairs. These ministers, of whom Cardinal Beatoun, a man of superior genius, was the principal, served the king with zeal, and carried on his measures with reputation and success. The grand object of the king of Scotland was the complete depression of the aristocratical order: to this he directed all his attention, and suffered no opportunity of mortifying the nobles to escape. Their slightest offences

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were punished with extreme severity. Every accusation against a nobleman was received with pleasure: every suspicious circumstance was examined with rigour; and almost every trial terminated in the condemnation of the accused. The nobles observed, with fear and resentment, the tendency of schemes which seemed to have for their object, not only the depression, but even the destruction of aristocracy; but the sagacity and vigilance of the king and his ministers, prevented them from taking any measures to prevent their impending ruin. In the mean time an English army was ready to enter Scotland. James was now obliged to have recourse to his nobles for the defence of his dominions. At his command they assembled their followers, but with a full resolution to maintain their own cause against the king and his ministers, as well as against foreign enemies. The events of the war soon presented an opportunity of shewing their disaffection. The rigour of the season, and the scarcity of provisions, had obliged the English army to retire; and the Scottish king resolved to attack them in their retreat. But the barons, with a disdainful obstinacy, refused to advance beyond the limits of their country. Provoked at this insult, the king instantly disbanded an army which paid no respect to his orders. The violence of his grief at this disappointment threw him into a melancholy bordering on despair. His ministers, to revive his spirits, projected another expedition; and some of the barons were prevailed on to muster 10,000 men, in order to make an inroad on the western borders of England. But nothing could diminish the king's aversion to the nobility, nor his jealousy of their powers. These sentiments drove him into the imprudent measure of depriving them of the command of the troops, which they had raised, by placing Oliver Sinclair, one of his favourites, at their head, which caused a general mutiny in the army. In this disorder they were attacked and routed by 500 English horse. Such were the effects of their hatred of the king, and their contempt of the general, that 10,000 men made so little resistance against so

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inferior a number, that no more than thirty were killed, while the prisoners amounted to above 1000, of whom 160 were persons of distinction. This disaster reduced the king to despair. He now saw that all attempts to depress the nobility were vain and ineffectual, and that whatever steps might be taken for this purpose in time of peace, they would, in time of war, rise to their former importance. His impetuous temper was incapable of bearing insults which he could not revenge, and a settled melancholy succeeding to transports of rage, produced a sickness which terminated his career, A. D. 1542.

Mary, queen of Scotland, whose beauty, misconduct, and misfortunes, have rendered her name famous in history, was born a few days before the death of her father. Her birth was the entrance upon a life of troubles. An unnecessary and unsuccessful war with England, disunion among the nobles, and disputes concerning religion, all preceded the disastrous events that afterwards took place under the government of a queen who was yet in her infancy. The Cardinal Beatoun had, during the last reign, been all powerful. He was no favourite of the nation, and the regency was, by the nobles, unanimously conferred on the earl of Arran. The character of this nobleman was diametrically opposite to that of Beatoun. He was unaspiring, irresolute, and timid, a lover of ease, and little acquainted with business. The Cardinal was artful, bold, and ambitious, and consummately experienced in all the mysteries of political manœuvre. Out of hatred to the latter, however, the earl was preferred to the regency.

Scotland had now acquired some weight in the political system of Europe. Henry VIII. projected a marriage between his son Edward and the young queen of Scotland. He entered, therefore, into a treaty with the Scots for that purpose; but demanded that the person of the queen, and the government of the kingdom, should be put into his hands, during her minority. This proposal was rejected with disdain; but, at length, through the influence of the regent, a

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treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed, that Mary should be sent to the court of England, when she had attained the age of ten years, and six persons of the first rank should be delivered as hostages, to remain there till the time of her arrival. A treaty so disgraceful to Scotland excited general indignation. Cardinal Beatoun protested against its ratification; and by the assistance of Argyle, Huntley, Bothwell, and other nobles, seized the queen's person, and carried her to Stirling. The kingdom was divided into two powerful factions. The English, resenting the conduct of Scotland, landed forces near Leith, and plundered Edinburgh, and the adjacent country. The Scots were still more exasperated against the English alliance, and attached to France. While affairs were in this state, the Cardinal was murdered in the castle of St. Andrew, where he then resided. The duke of Somerset, now Lord Protector, entered Scotland with 18,000 men; and the Scots occupied with an army of more than double that number, an advantageous ground near the river Eske, above Musselburg. The regent, leaving his strong camp, where it was impossible to attack him on equal terms, rashly ventured to engage the enemy near Pinkey, under great disadvantages. The result was the total defeat of the Scottish army, with the loss of more than 10,000 men. This was the most fatal day that Scotland had seen since the memorable battle of Flodden. In almost all the wars of the Scots, their military conduct appears to have been characterised by a ferocious impetuosity, which often occasioned their defeat, when opposed to the cooler valour, and more regular discipline of the English troops.

After the death of the Cardinal Beatoun, Mary of Guise, the queen dowager, took a considerable part in the direction of affairs; and the strength of the Scots being broken at Pinkey, the whole nation looked towards France for assistance. A treaty was concluded, by which the Scots disposed of their queen in marriage to the Dauphin, afterwards Francis II. and sent her immediately to the court of France, to be

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educated. A body of 6000 French troops was then sent to Scotland, to assist in the war against the English. The treaty was concluded A. D. 1548. Mary resided about thirteen years in France, the only interval of tranquillity and happiness that she was ever destined to enjoy.

While she was enjoying the pleasures of the court o France, Scotland, first under the regency of the earl of Arran, and afterwards of the queen dowager, Mary of Guise, was rent by factions, and experienced the direful effects of religious and feudal dissentions. The period of time which had elapsed from the death of James V. had been a season of anarchy, during which parties had risen and fallen in rapid succession. To the commotions so common in every country where the feudal system prevailed, may be added those caused by the collision of the principles of the reformation with the interests of a powerful hierarchy. Throughout Europe the wealth of the church was exorbitant; but in Scotland it so far exceeded a just proportion, that not less than half of the property of the kingdom was in the hands of ecclesiastics. Church lands being let on lease, at an easy rate, many estates, in all parts of the kingdom, were held of the church. This extraordinary share in the national property was accompanied by a proportionable weight in the national councils. The ecclesiastical members formed a very considerable body in the Scottish parliaments, in which they possessed all the influence that great wealth and superior cultivation and talents naturally give to their possessors.

It was difficult to overturn a hierarchy, established on so firm a basis, with so many sources of assistance and support. The progress of the reformation, however, gave serious alarm to the clergy; and the sword of persecution was ineffectually drawn in defence of the privileges and emoluments of the church. It does not appear that much blood was spilt in consequence of the strong measures adopted, although it was not without many considerable tumults, and a series of civil wars, that a new order of things was introduced. The Scottish clergy soon found their influence diminished. The

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dissoluteness of their manners excited an odium which prompted the people to question the utility of their office and the truth of their doctrines.

In the parliament of 1560, the reformed religion was established in Scotland; and the exercise of religious worship, according to the rites of the Roman church, was prohibited under the penalty of forfeiture of goods for the first, banishment for the second, and death for the third offence. Men at that time were strangers to the spirit of toleration, and to the laws of humanity; Scotland exhibited the singular spectacle of religious retaliation on the part of persons just escaped from ecclesiastical tyranny, who proceeded to exercise in their turn a degree of severity of which they themselves had, at a former period, so justly complained. The new system of church government was yet to be modelled, and in this business Knox, a popular preacher of a rude but energetic eloquence, of rigid morals and republican ferocity, had a principal share. This reformer had long resided at Geneva, and considered the system of church government, established by Calvin in that city, as the most perfect model for imitation. He therefore recommended it to his countrymen, and succeeded in accomplishing its establishment. With regard to making a provision for the new clergy, the nobles were as dilatory in their proceedings as they were prompt and impetuous in reforming docrines and discipline. The disposal of the ecclesiastical revenues was a measure of great importance. To assign them to the protestant clergy, or to annex them to the crown, were considered by the nobles as measures of a dangerous tendency. The nobles were, therefore, resolved to guard against such an augmentation of either the ecclesiastical or regal power, as might endanger their own independence. Considerations of a private nature also mingled themselves with a concern for the general interests of the aristocratical order. Many laymen were already enriched with the spoils of the church, and others viewed them with a longing expectation. Not a few of the heads of religious

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houses had seized this favourable opportunity of gratifying ambition and avarice. The great majority of the abbots and priors, having, from conviction or policy, renounced their religion, still took care to hold their ancient revenues. Besides these, almost the whole order of bishops and other dignitaries, who still adhered to the religion of Rome, although debarred from the exercise of their spiritual functions, still continued in possession of their temporalities. Amidst the confusion of civil and religious contention, and the jarring opinions relative to the affairs of another world, every one took care to seize and to keep whatever he could lay hold of in this; so that, before any part of the ancient ecclesiastical revenues could be applied towards the maintenance of the reformed clergy, a variety of different interests were to be adjusted. This was at length accomplished in a singular manner. An exact account of the value of the ecclesiastical benefices, throughout the whole kingdom, was ordered to be taken. The present incumbents, whether catholic or protestant, were allowed to keep possession; two thirds of their revenues were reserved for their own use, and one third was annexed to the crown; which, out of that pittance, was charged with the maintenance of the protestant clergy, who, by this decision, were left in a deplorable state of indigence. In this condition they remained a considerable time; and it was not until after various regulations, and the cessation of civil discord, that they obtained stipends sufficient to support them in a style of decency suited to the character of ministers of religion. At the period of which we are speaking, about 24,000 Scottish pounds appear to have been the whole sum allotted for the maintenance of the national church. It cannot but be considered as a singular circumstance, that the protestant ministers, whose doctrine was, by the whole nation, esteemed the true Gospel of Christ, should have thus been abandoned to poverty and distress, while the catholic clergy, whose religion was proscribed, were permitted to hold so great a share of the ecclesiastical revenues. To solve

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this curious problem, it is requisite to observe, that the greatest part of the catholic dignitaries were men of noble birth, who, as they no longer entertained any hope of restoring their religion, wished their own relations, rather than either the crown or the protestant clergy, to be enriched with its spoils. They not only connived at the encroachments of their noble relatives, but aided their rapacity and dealt out among them the patrimony of the church, by granting perpetual leases of lands and tithes, and giving a legal sanction to the usurpations which had been made amidst the confusion of civil war, and the prevalence of feudal anarchy. The nobles who were resolved to prevent the annexation of the ecclesiastical revenues, either to the crown or to the reformed church, were perfectly satisfied with a device which gave a plausible colour, and a stamp of legislative authority, to their proceedings.

In Scotland the reformation assumed a different shape, and exhibited both in theological doctrines and hierarchical regulations, a wider deviation from the ancient institutions, than in any other country in which its establishment took place, except Geneva, Switzerland, and the United states of the Netherlands. The ancient Scots had been extremely prone to superstition. In proportion to their affluence, the Scottish kings and nobles had distinguished themselves, above those of most other countries, in their profuse donations to the church. The munificent piety of David I. transferred all the crown lands into the hands of ecclesiastics. The same spirit pervaded the nobility of that age, and descended to their successors. When a revolution in the ideas of men induced them to rectify the abuses of mitaken piety, the Scottish reformers exhibited a fanaticism not inferior to that which had animated their ancestors. The nature of the impulse was essentially the same, although its direction was different, and its effects diametrically opposite. The Scots of an earlier period had a superstitious veneration for the external pomp of religion; those of the sixteenth imbibed an aversion to every kind of religious decoration. The ferocious populace endeavoured

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to demolish or deface all the monuments of ancient magnificence; and their furious zeal has left posterity to lament the the ruin of many stately fabrics, once the ornaments of the kingdom.* We must, however, do justice to the humanity with which the preachers of the reformation had inspired their followers. Amidst all their excesses and among all the outrages committed on churches and monasteries, very few of the Roman Catholics suffered any personal injury; and not a single person of that persuasion lost his life.

When the protestant religion was firmly established, the convention of May 1561, sanctioned measures of devastation, which surpassed every thing that had been thought of in former periods of excitement. Dr. Robertson thus describes the barbarous havock made by their order. "The convention, considering every religious fabric as a relic of idolatry, passed sentence upon them by an act in form; and persons the most remarkable for the activity of their zeal, were appointed to put it in execution. Abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the sepulchres of the dead, perished in one common ruin. The storm of popular insurrection, though impetuous and irresistible, had extended only to a few counties, and soon spent its rage; but now, a deliberate and universal rapine completed the devastation of every thing venerable and magnificent, which had escaped its violence."†

Such was the state of Scotland just emerging from barbarism, and convulsed by Catholic and Protestant bigotry, when Mary, whose husband Francis II. was dead, received a pressing invitation from her subjects, to return to her native country, and assume the reins of government. She consented to the proposal with reluctance; and her feelings seemed to forebode her future misfortunes. At her departure from Calais, so long as the coast of France continued in sight, she gazed intently upon it, sighed often, and cried "Farewell, France,

* Robertson, vol. 1. p. 323.
† Robertson's Scotland, vol. 2. p. 47.

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farewell, beloved country, which I shall never more behold!" When the darkness of the night concealed the land from her view, she caused her couch to be brought upon deck, and waited the return of day with impatience. The galley had made little way in the night, and when the day-light appeared, France was still within sight. She continued to feed her melancholy with the prospect, and as long as her eyes could distinguish it, she repeated the same tender expressions of regret.

On the 19th of August 1561, Mary landed at Leith, and was received by her subjects with every demonstration of loyalty and regard. But the acclamations that resounded in her ears, were only a prelude to misfortunes which her misconduct contributed to heighten. The indescribable difficulties of her situation may plead an excuse for many of her failings. A spirit of licentiousness and insubordination pervading all ranks of men; an aristocracy accustomed to independence; religious factions, zealous, enthusiastic, and desperate. Protestants who thought a mass more shocking than a murder; and Catholics who considered the least contradiction to their creed, as more dreadful than the approach of a hostile army, created only a part of the embarrassments with which she was surrounded. A kingdom which, for two years, had been without a regency, without a supreme council, without the power, or even the form of a regular government, was a turbulent theatre of action for a young queen scarcely nineteen years of age, who was unacquainted with the manners and laws of her country, a stranger to her subjects, without allies, and almost without a friend. Under these disadvantages, she had to oppose a combination of difficulties, sufficient to baffle the efforts of the most consummate political skill and experience. But there were some circumstances in her favour. Her subjects, unaccustomed to the residence of their sovereign, were not only dazzled by the novelty and splendor of the royal presence; but inspired with awe and reverence. From all corners of the kingdom,

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the nobles crowded to testify their duty and affection to their queen. The amusements and gaiety of her court, began to soften and to polish the rude manners of the nation. Mary possessed many of those qualifications which raise affection, and procure esteem. The beauty and gracefulness of her person drew universal admiration; the elegance and politeness of her manners, commanded general respect. To all the charms of her own sex, she added many of the accomplishments of the other. The progress she had made in all the arts and sciences, was far beyond what is commonly attained by princes; and all her other qualities were rendered more attractive by courteous affability.

The first measures of Mary's administration confirmed the prepossessions entertained in her favour. According to the advice of her uncles, she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the protestant party. The prior of St. Andrews, her natural brother, whom she soon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority, and after him, Lethington had a principal share in her confidence. Her choice could not have fallen upon persons more agreeable to her people.

But Mary was still a papist; and though she published a proclamation, enjoining every one to submit to the reformed religion, the more zealous protestants could not lay aside their jealousies of her future conduct. The usual prayers in the churches were, "that God would turn the queen's heart, which was obstinate against his truth; or, if his holy will were otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts and hands of the elect, stoutly to oppose the rage of all tyrants."

The ringleader in all these insults on majesty, was John Knox. His usual appellation for the queen was Jezebel.

Curbed in all her amusements, by the severity of these reformers, Mary, whose age, condition, and education, invited her to liberty and cheerfulness, found reason, every moment, to look back with a sigh to that country, which she had quitted with so much regret. She perceived that her only expe-

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dient for maintaining tranquillity, while surrounded by a turbulent nobility, a bigotted people, and insolent ecclesiastics, was to preserve a good correspondence with Elizabeth. She therefore sent Maitland of Lethington to London, in order to pay her compliments to the English queen, and express a desire of friendship and good correspondence. Maitland was also instructed to signify Mary's willingness to renounce all present right to the crown of England, provided she was declared next heir by act of parliament, in case the queen should die without posterity. But such was the jealous character of Elizabeth, that she never would consent to strengthen the interest of any claimant, by fixing the succession; much less would she make this concession in favour of a rival queen. Though further concessions were never made by either princess, they put on all the appearance of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other. They wrote letters every week, and had adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments, as well as the style of sisters. But the negotiations for the marriage of the queen of Scots, awakened anew the jealousy of Elizabeth, and roused the zeal of the Scottish reformers. Mary was solicited by the archduke Charles, the emperor's third son—by Don Carlos, heir to the Spanish monarchy, and by the duke of Anjou, her former husband's brother, who succeeded soon after to the crown of France. Either of those foreign alliances would have been alarming to Elizabeth, and probably to Mary's protestant subjects.

Such unexpected events as the fancy of poets ascribes to love, are, at times, really produced by that passion. An affair which had been the object of so many political intrigues, and had moved and interested so many princes, was at last decided by the mutual attachment of two young persons. Henry Stewart, lord Darnley, the eldest son of the earl of Lennox, was at that time in the bloom and vigour of youth. In beauty and gracefulness of person he surpassed all his cotemporaries; he excelled eminently in such arts as add ease and elegance to external form, and which enable it not only to

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dazzle, but to please. Mary was of an age, and of a temper, to feel the full power of these accomplishments. The impression which lord Darnley made upon her was visible from the time of their first interview. The whole business of the court was to amuse and entertain this illustrious guest; and in all those scenes of gaiety, Darnley, whose qualifications were altogether superficial and showy, appeared to great advantage. His conquest of the queen's heart became complete. But he had rendered himself disagreeable to the nobles by his haughtiness, and particularly by his familiarity with David Rizzio, an Italian.

This man was the son of a musician in Turin, and gained admission into the queen's family by his skill in music. His servile condition had taught him suppleness of spirit, and insinuating manners. He quickly crept into the queen's favour, and was preferred to the office of her French secretary. He now began to make a figure in court, and to appear as a man of weight and consequence. The whole train of suitors and expectants applied to him; and he was considered not only as a favourite, but as a minister. Nor was Rizzio careful to abate that envy, which always attends such an extraordinary and rapid change of fortune. He affected to talk often and familiarly with the queen in public. He equalled the greatest and most opulent subjects in richness of dress, and in the number of his attendants. He discovered in all his behaviour that assuming insolence, with which unmerited prosperity inspires an ignoble mind. It was with the utmost indignation that the nobles beheld the power, and the arrogance, of this unworthy minion. They also considered him, and not without reason, as a dangerous enemy to the protestant religion.

It was Darnley's misfortune to fall under the management of this man. Rizzio's whole influence on the queen was employed in his behalf, and contributed, without doubt, towards establishing him more firmly in her affections.

Though many political obstacles stood in the way of their

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union, Mary gave a public evidence of her own inclination, by conferring upon Darnley titles of honour peculiar to the royal family. The opposition she had hitherto met with, and the many contrivances employed to thwart her inclination, produced their usual effect on her heart; they confirmed her passion, and increased its violence. The simplicity of that age imputed an affection so excessive to the influence of witchcraft. It was owing, however, to no other charm than the power of youth and beauty over a young and susceptible heart. Darnley grew giddy with his prosperity. Flattered by the love of a queen, and the applause of many among her subjects, his natural haughtiness and insolence became insupportable, and he could no longer bear advice, far less contradiction.

In no scene of her life was ever Mary's own address more remarkably displayed. Love sharpened her invention, and made her study every method of securing the affections of her subjects. Many of the nobles she won by her address, and more by her promises. On some she bestowed lands; to others she gave new titles of honour. She even condescended to court the Protestant clergy, and declared, in strong terms, her resolution to protect their religion. By these arts the queen gained wonderfully upon the people, who are generally ready to view the actions of their sovereign with an indulgent eye.

Notwithstanding the popularity of Mary, the aversion of the nobles to her marriage with Darnley nearly broke out into a rebellion. The vigorous measures she adopted discouraged the malcontents, who broke up the ineffectual consultations, and went to their homes.

While the queen was in this prosperous situation, she determined to bring to a period an affair which had so long engrossed her heart, and occupied her attention. On the 29th of July she married lord Darnley. The ceremony was performed in the queen's chapel, and according to the rites of the Romish church. She issued at the same time proclama-

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tions, conferring the title of king of Scots upon her husband, and commanding that, henceforth, all writs at law should run in the joint names of king and queen. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the violence of Mary's love, or the weakness of her councils, than this last step. That she had no right to confer upon him, by her private authority, the title and dignity of king, is beyond all doubt. Such a violent stretch of prerogative, as the substituting a proclamation in place of an act of parliament, might have justly alarmed the nation. But the queen possessed so entirely the confidence of her subjects, that no symptoms of general discontent appeared on that account.

Even amidst those scenes of joy, which always accompany successful love, Mary did not suffer the course of her vengeance against the malcontent nobles to be interrupted. Three days after the marriage, Murray was again summoned to court, under the severest penalties, and, upon his non-appearance, the utmost rigour of the law took place, and he was declared an outlaw.

The malcontents had not yet openly taken up arms. But the queen having ordered her subjects to march against them, they were driven to the last extremity. They now appeared openly in arms, and were endeavouring to raise their followers in the western counties. Mary's vigilance, however, hindered them from assembling in any considerable body. All her military operations, at that time, were concerted with wisdom, and attended with success. In order to encourage her troops, she herself marched along with them, rode with loaded pistols, and endured all the fatigues of war with admirable fortitude. Her alacrity inspired her forces with an invincible resolution; which, together with their superiority in numbers, deterred the malcontents from facing them in the field.

The advantage she had gained over them did not satisfy Mary; she resolved to follow up the blow, and to prevent a party which she dreaded, from ever recovering any footing in

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the nation. While she was prosecuting measures for that purpose, a scheme was formed for exterminating the Huguenots in France, the Protestants in the Low Countries, and for suppressing the reformation throughout all Europe, and Mary was conjured, by her Catholic friends, to co-operate with them in so desirable a measure.

Popery is a species of religion remarkable for the strong possession it takes of the heart. Contrived by men of deep insight in the human character, it had been carried at last to a degree of perfection, which no former system of superstition had ever attained. Laymen and courtiers were agitated with that furious and unmerciful zeal, which is commonly considered as peculiar to ecclesiastics; and kings and ministers thought themselves bound in conscience to extirpate the Protestant doctrine. Mary herself felt deeply all the prejudices of popery; a passionate attachment to that superstition is visible in every part of her character, and runs through all the scenes of her life. She was devoted, too, with the utmost submission, to the princes of Lorraine, her uncles; and had been accustomed from her infancy to listen to all their advices with a filial respect. The prospect of restoring the public exercise of her own religion; the pleasure of complying with her uncles; and the hopes of gratifying the French monarchy; counterbalanced all the prudent considerations which had formerly weighed with her. She instantly joined the confederacy which had been formed for the destruction of the Protestants, and altered the whole plan of her conduct with regard to Murray and his adherents.

To this fatal resolution may be imputed all the subsequent calamities of Mary's life. Ever since her return into Scotland, fortune may be said to have been propitious to her. A thick and settled cloud of adversity, with few gleams of hope, covers the remainder of her days.

The effects of the new system which Mary had adopted were soon visible. She resolved, without any further delay, to proceed to the attainder of the rebel lords; and at the

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same time, determined to take some steps towards the re-establishment of the Romish religion in Scotland. The ruin o Murray and his party seemed now inevitable, and the danger of the reformed church imminent, when an event unexpectedly happened which saved both. This in itself was little remarkable; but if we reflect upon the consequences, it appears extremely memorable, and the rise and progress of it deserve to be traced with care.

Darnley's external accomplishments had excited that sudden and violent passion which raised him to the throne. But the qualities of his mind corresponded ill with the beauties of his person. Of a weak understanding, and without experience, conceited at the same time of his abilities, he ascribed his extraordinary success entirely to his distinguished merit. All the queen's favours made no impression on such a temper. All her gentleness could not bridle his imperious and ungovernable spirit. All her attention to place about him persons capable of directing his conduct, could not preserve him from rash and imprudent actions. Fond of all the amusements, and even prone to all the vices of youth, he became by degrees a stranger to her company. To a woman and a queen, such behaviour was intolerable. The lower she stooped in order to raise him, his behaviour appeared the more ungenerous and criminal. And in proportion to the strength of her first affection, was the violence with which her disappointed passion now operated. A few months after the marriage, their domestic quarrels began to be observed. To these the extravagance of Darnley's ambition gave rise. Instead of being satisfied with a share in the administration of government, or with the title of king, he demanded the crown matrimonial with most insolent importunity. And, though Mary alleged that the authority of parliament must be interposed to bestow it, he wanted either understanding to comprehend or temper to admit, so just an objection, and often renewed and urged his request.

Rizzio, whom the king had at first taken into great confi-

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dence, did not humour him in these follies. By this he incurred Darnley's displeasure; and, as it was impossible for Mary to behave towards her husband with the same affection which distinguished the first and happy days of their union, he imputed this coldness, not to his own behaviour, which had so well merited it, but to the insinuations of Rizzio. Mary's own conduct confirmed and strengthened these suspicions. She treated this stranger with a familiarity, and admitted him to a share in her confidence, to which he had no title. He was perpetually in her presence, intermeddled in every business, and was the companion of all her private amusements. The haughty spirit of Darnley could not bear the intrusion of such an upstart; and, impatient of any delay, he instantly resolved to get rid of him by violence.

The king communicated his resolution to be avenged of Rizzio to lord Ruthven, and requested his assistance, and that of his friends, towards the execution of this design. Nothing could be more acceptable to them than this overture. Their own private revenge upon Rizzio, would pass, they hoped, for an act of obedience to the king.

But, as Darnley was no less fickle than rash, they hesitated for some time, and determined to advance no farther, without taking every possible precaution for their own safety. Preliminaries were settled on both sides, and articles for their mutual security agreed upon. The king engaged to prevent the attainder of the banished lords, to obtain for them an ample remission of all their crimes, and to support, to the utmost of his power, the religion which was now established in the kingdom. On their parts, they undertook to procure the crown matrimonial for Darnley; to secure his right of succession, if the queen should die before him: and, if either Rizzio, or any other person, should happen to be killed in prosecuting the design, the king promised to acknowledge himself to be the author of the enterprise, and to protect those who embarked in it.

Nothing now remained but to concert the plan of opera-

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tion, for perpetrating this detestable crime. Every circumstance here paints and characterizes the manners and men of that age, and fills us with horror at both. The place chosen, for committing such a deed, was the queen's bed-chamber. Though Mary was now in the sixth month of her pregnancy, the king pitched upon this place, that he might enjoy the malicious pleasure of reproaching Rizzio with his crimes before the queen's face.

On the 9th of March, 1566, Morton entered the court of the palace with a hundred and sixty men; and, without noise, or meeting with any resistance, seized all the gates. While the queen was at supper with the countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and a few other persons, the king suddenly entered the apartment by a private passage. At his back was Ruthven, clad in complete armour, and with that ghastly and horrid look, which long sickness had given him. Three or four of his most trusty accomplices followed him. Such an unusual appearance alarmed those who were present. Rizzio instantly apprehended that he was the victim at whom the blow was aimed; and, in the utmost consternation, retired behind the queen, of whom he laid hold, hoping that the reverence due to her person might prove some protection to him. The conspirators had proceeded too far to be restrained by any consideration of that kind. Numbers of armed men rushed into the chamber. Ruthven drew his dagger, and with a furious mien and voice, commanded Rizzio to leave a place of which he was unworthy, and which he had occupied too long. Mary employed tears, and entreaties, and threatenings, to save her favourite. But, notwithstanding all these, he was torn from her by violence, and, before he could be dragged through the next apartment, the rage of his enemies put an end to his life, piercing his body with fifty-six wounds.

The king, mean while, stood astonished at the boldness and success of his own enterprise, and uncertain what course to hold. The queen observed his irresolution, and availed

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herself of it. She employed all her arts to disengage him from his new associates. His consciousness of the insult which he had offered to so illustrious a benefactress, inspired him with uncommon facility and complaisance.

Mary proceeded against those concerned in the murder of Rizzio, with the utmost rigour of the law. But two persons only, and those of no considerable rank, suffered for this crime.

In the confederacy between the king and the conspirators, the real intention of which was assassination, the preserving of the reformed church is, nevertheless, one of the most considerable articles; and the same men who were preparing to violate one of the first duties of morality, affected the highest regard for religion. History relates these extravagances of the human mind, without pretending to justify or even to account for them.

As this is the second instance of deliberate assassination, which has occurred, and as we shall hereafter meet with many instances of the same crime, the causes which gave rise to a practice so shocking to humanity, deserve our peculiar attention. Resentment is one of the strongest passions in the human breast. The natural demand of this passion is, that the person who feels the injury should, himself, inflict the vengeance due on that account. The permitting this, however, would have been destructive to society. For this reason, the sword was taken out of private hands, and committed to the magistrate. But, at first, while laws aimed at restraining, they really strengthened the principle of revenge. The earliest and most simple punishment for crimes, was retaliation; the offender forfeited limb for limb, and life for life. The payment of a compensation to the person injured, succeeded to the rigour of the former laws. In both, the gratification of private revenge was the object of law; and he, who suffered the wrong, was the only person who had a right to pursue, to exact, or to remit the punishment. While laws allowed such full scope to the revenge of one party, the interests of the other were not neglected. If

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the evidences of his guilt did not amount to a full proof, or, if he declared himself to be unjustly accused, the person to whom a crime was imputed had a right to challenge his adversary to single combat; and, on obtaining the victory, vindicated his own honour. In almost every considerable cause, arms were appealed to in defence either of the innocence or the property of the parties. Justice had seldom occasion to use her balance; the sword, alone, decided every contest. The passion of revenge was nourished by all these means. Mankind became habituated to blood, and from this, as well as from other causes, contracted an amazing ferocity of temper and of manners. This ferocity, however, made it necessary to discourage the trial by combat; to abolish the payment of compensations in criminal cases; and to think of some milder method of terminating disputes concerning civil rights. The punishments for crimes became more severe, and the regulations concerning property more fixed; but the princes, whose province it was to inflict the one, and to enforce the other, possessed little power. The administration of justice was extremely feeble and dilatory. To nobles, haughty and independent, who were quick in discerning an injury, and impatient to revenge it; who considered the right of punishing those who had injured them, as a privilege of their order and a mark of independence, such slow proceedings were extremely unsatisfactory. The blood of their adversary was, in their opinion, the only thing which could wash away an affront; where that was not shed their revenge was disappointed; their courage became suspected; and a stain was left on their honour. That vengeance, which the impotent hand of the magistrate could not inflict, their own could easily execute. Under governments so feeble, men assumed, as in a state of nature, the right of judging and redressing their own wrongs. And thus, assassination came not only to be connived at, but almost to be deemed honourable.

The history of Europe, during the 14th and 15th centu-

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turies, abounds with detestable instances of this crime. It prevailed chiefly among the French and Scots, between whom there was a close intercourse at that time, and a surprising resemblance in their national characters. The number of eminent persons who were murdered in France and Scotland, on account either of private, or political, or religious quarrels, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is almost incredible. Even after the jurisdiction of magistrates and the authority of laws were better established, after the progress of learning and philosophy had polished the manners and humanized the minds of men, this crime still continued in some degree. I return from this digression to the course of the history.

The charm which had, at first, attached the queen to Darnley, and held them for some time in a happy union, was now entirely dissolved; and love no longer covering his follies and vices with its friendly veil, they appeared to Mary in their full dimensions, and deformity. Cold civilities, secret distrust, frequent quarrels, succeeded to their former transports of affection and confidence. The queen's favours were no longer conveyed through his hands, and the crowd of expectants ceased to court his patronage. Addicted to drunkenness, and indulging irregular passions, which even the licentiousness of youth could not excuse, he provoked the queen to the utmost. Her aversion for him increased every day, and could be no longer concealed.

About this time a new favourite grew into great credit with the queen, and soon gained an ascendency over her heart, which encouraged his enterprising genius to form designs that proved fatal to himself, and were the occasion of Mary's subsequent misfortunes. This was James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, the head of an ancient family, and one of the most powerful noblemen in the kingdom. Even in that turbulent age, no man's ambition was more daring than Bothwell's, or had recourse to bolder, or more singular expedients, for obtaining power. Every step of his conduct towards Mary was remark-

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ably dutiful; and amidst all the shiftings of faction, we scarcely ever find him holding any course which could be offensive to her. Her gratitude loaded him with marks of her bounty, she raised him to offices of profit and trust, and transacted no matter of importance without his advice. By complaisance and assiduity he confirmed and fortified those dispositions of the queen in his favour, and insensibly paved the way towards that vast project, which, in spite of many difficulties, and at the expense of many crimes, he at last accomplished.

On the 19th of June 1566, Mary was delivered of her only son James, a prince whose birth was happy for the whole island, and unfortunate to her alone. His accession to the throne of England united the two divided kingdoms in one mighty monarchy; while she, torn early from her son, was never allowed to indulge those tender passions, nor to taste those joys which fill the heart of a mother.

Melvil was instantly dispatched to London, with an account of this event. It struck Elizabeth at first in a sensible manner; and the advantage and superiority which her rival had acquired by the birth of a son, forced tears from her eyes. But before Melvil was admitted to audience, she had so far recovered the command of herself, as to receive him, not only with decency, but with assumed cheerfulness.

The queen, on her recovery, discovered no change in her sentiments with respect to the king. The breach between them became every day more apparent. Attempts were made towards a reconciliation; but after such a violent rupture, it was found no easy matter to bind the nuptial knot anew.

Bothwell all this while was the queen's prime confident. Without his participation no business was concluded, and no favour bestowed. Together with this ascendant over her councils, Bothwell acquired no less sway over her heart. But at what precise time, this ambitious lord first allowed the sentiments of a lover to occupy the place of that duty and respect which a subject owes his sovereign; or when Mary, instead

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of gratitude for his faithful services, felt a passion of another nature rising in her bosom, it is no easy matter to determine.

Mary was young, gay, and affable. She possessed great sensibility of temper, and was capable of the utmost tenderness of affection. She had placed her love on a very unworthy object, who requited it with ingratitude, and treated her with neglect, with insolence, and with brutality. This conduct she felt and resented. In this situation the attention and complaisance of a man who entered into all her views, who soothed all her wounded feelings, and improved every opportunity of recommending his passion, could scarce fail of making an impression on a heart of such a disposition as Mary's.

About this time the license of the borderers called for redress; and Mary, resolving to hold a court of justice at Jedburgh, the inhabitants of several adjacent counties were summoned to attend their sovereign, in arms, according to custom. Bothwell was, at that time, lieutenant, or warden, of all the marches. In order to display his own valour and activity in the discharge of his trust, he attempted to seize a gang of banditti, who infested the country. But while he was laying hold of one of those desperadoes, he was wounded by him in several places; so that his followers were obliged to carry him to Hermitage castle. Mary instantly flew thither with an impatience which strongly marks the anxiety of a lover, but little suited the dignity of a queen. Finding that Bothwell was threatened with no dangerous symptom, she returned that day to Jedburgh.

Elizabeth had now reigned eight years without discovering the least intention to marry. The nation was alarmed with the prospect of all those calamities which are occasioned by a dubious succession; a motion was made and eagerly listened to in both houses for addressing the queen to provide against any such danger in times to come; either by signifying her own resolution to marry, or, by consenting to an act, establishing the order of succession to the crown. The insuperable aversion which she had, all along, discovered for marriage,

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made it improbable that she should choose the former. Elizabeth was sagacious enough to see the remotest consequences of this motion, and observed them with the greatest anxiety. Mary had plainly intimated a design of embracing the first promising opportunity for prosecuting her right to the English crown; and, by her secret negotiations, she had gained many to favour her title. All the Roman Catholics ardently wished for her succession. Her gentleness and humanity had removed many of those apprehensions which the Protestants entertained on account of her religion. The union of the two kingdoms was a desirable object to all wise men in both nations; and the birth of the young prince was a security for the continuance of this blessing, and gave hopes of its perpetuity.

Nothing could be a greater mortification to a princess of Elizabeth's character, than the temper which both houses of parliament discovered on this occasion. She bent all her policy to defeat or elude the motion; and, in the end, prevailed to have it put off for that session.

Amidst all her other cares, Mary was ever solicitous to promote the interest of that religion which she professed. Having formerly held a secret correspondence with the court of Rome, she now resolved to allow a nuncio from the pope publicly to enter her dominions. Cardinal Laurea was the person on whom Pius V. conferred this office; and, along with him, he sent the queen a present of 20,000 crowns. The business of the nuncio, in Scotland, could be no other than to attempt a reconciliation of that kingdom to the Romish see. Thus Mary herself understood it; and in her answer to a letter which she received from the pope, she promises that she would bend her whole strength towards the re-establishment and propagation of the Catholic faith.

At the very time that Mary was secretly carrying on negotiations for subverting the reformed church, she did not scruple publicly to employ her authority towards obtaining for its ministers a more certain and comfortable subsistence. This

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part of her conduct does little honour to Mary's integrity; and, though justified by the example of princes, such dissimulation must be numbered among those blemishes, which never stain a truly great and generous character.

Mary's aversion for the king grew every day more confirmed, and was become altogether incurable. A deep melancholy succeeded to that gaiety of spirit which was natural to her. A variety of passions preyed at once on a mind, all whose sensations were exquisite, and often extorted from her the last wish of the unfortunate, that life itself would come to an end.

Murray and Maitland observed all those workings of passion in the breast of the queen, and conceived hopes of turning them to the advantage of their ancient associates, Morton, and the other conspirators against Rizzio. These were still in banishment, and the queen's resentment against them continued unabated. Murray and the secretary flattered themselves, however, that her inclination to be separated from Darnley would surmount this deep-rooted aversion, and that the hopes of an event so desirable might induce her to be reconciled to the conspirators. But Mary, however desirous of obtaining that deliverance from Darnley's caprices with which they endeavoured to allure her, had nevertheless good reasons for rejecting the method by which they proposed to accomplish it. She could scarce hope to be divorced from her husband, without throwing some imputation on her son. This might put it in the power of Elizabeth, and her ministers, to call in question the prince's legitimacy. The fear of these inconveniences weighed with Mary, and determined her, rather to endure her hard fate, than to seek relief by venturing on such a dangerous experiment.

Though she discouraged all attempts to obtain a divorce from lord Darnley, she no longer felt for him that warmth of conjugal affection which delights in all those tender offices which soothe and alleviate sickness and pain. At this juncture she did not even put on the appearance of this passion.

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Notwithstanding the king's danger, she amused herself with excursions to different parts of the country.

The breach between Mary and her husband was not occasioned by any of those slight disgusts which interrupt the domestic union without dissolving it altogether. Almost all the passions which operate with the greatest violence on a female mind, and drive it to the most dangerous extremes, concurred in raising and fomenting this unhappy quarrel. Contempt of her person, violations of the marriage vow, encroachments on her power, jealousy, insolence, and obstinacy, were the injuries of which Mary had great reason to complain. She felt them with the utmost sensibility, and they increased the anguish of disappointed love. Under these circumstances, Bothwell had so far succeeded in his ambitious and criminal design, as to gain an absolute ascendant over the queen: and, in a situation such as Mary's, merit not so conspicuous, services of far inferior importance, and address much less insinuating than Bothwell's, may be supposed to steal, imperceptibly, on a female heart, and entirely to overcome it. The king's behaviour would render the first approach of forbidden sentiments less shocking; resentment and disappointed love would be apt to represent whatever soothed her revenge as justifiable on that account; and so many concurring causes might almost imperceptibly kindle a new passion in her heart.

But to save appearances, and, perhaps, for the purposes of deception, Mary continued to attend the king with the most assiduous care. She seldom was absent from him through the day; she slept several nights in the chamber under his apartment. She heaped on him so many marks of tenderness and confidence, as in a great measure quieted those suspicions which had so long disturbed him. But while he was fondly indulging in dreams of the return of his former happiness, he stood on the very brink of destruction. On Sunday, the ninth of February, 1567, about eleven at night, the queen left the kirk of Field, where the king slept, in order to

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be present at a masque in the palace. At two next morning the house in which the king lay was blown up with gunpowder. The noise and shock, which this sudden explosion occasioned, alarmed the whole city. The inhabitants ran to the place whence it came. The dead body of the king, with that of a servant who slept in the same room, were found lying in an adjacent garden, without the city wall, untouched by fire, and with no bruise or mark of violence.

Such was the unhappy fate of lord Darnley, in the twenty-first year of his age. The indulgence of fortune, and his own external accomplishments, without any other merit, had raised him to a height of dignity of which he was altogether unworthy. By his folly and ingratitude he lost the heart of a woman who doated on him to distraction. His insolence and inconstancy alienated from him such of the nobles as had contributed most zealously towards his elevation. His levity and caprice exposed him to the scorn of the people, who once revered him as the descendant of their ancient kings and heroes. Had he died a natural death his end would have been unlamented; but the cruel circumstances of his murder rendered him the object of pity, to which he had, otherwise, no title.

The earl of Bothwell was generally considered as the author of this horrid murder; some suspicions were entertained that the queen herself was no stranger to the crime; and the subsequent conduct of both affords a strong presumption of their mutual guilt. Mary not only industriously avoided bringing Bothwell to a legal trial, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the earl of Lennox, the king's father, and the general voice of the nation, but allowed the man, publicly accused of the murder of her husband, to enjoy all the dignity and power, as well as all the confidence and familiarity, of a favourite. She committed to him the government of the castle of Edinburgh, which, with the offices he already possessed, gave him the command of the south of Scotland. He

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was afterwards, in consequence of a premature trial, every step of which seemed to be taken by directions from himself, acquitted of any participation in the murder of Darnley.

Every step taken by the earl of Bothwell, had hitherto been attended with all the success which his most sanguine wishes could expect. He had entirely gained the queen's heart; the murder of the king had excited no public commotion; he had been acquitted by his peers of any share in that crime. But, in a kingdom where the power of the nobles was so formidable, he durst not venture on the last action, towards which all his ambitious projects tended, without their approbation. In order to secure this, he invited all the nobles who were present, to an entertainment. Having filled the house with his friends and dependents, and surrounded it with armed men, he opened to the company his intention of marrying the queen, whose consent, he told them, he had already obtained, and demanded their approbation of this match, which, he said, was no less acceptable to their sovereign than honourable to himself. Partly by promises and flattery, partly by terror and force, he prevailed on all who were present to subscribe a paper, which contained the strongest declarations of Bothwell's innocence, and the most ample acknowledgment of his good services to the kingdom. The subscribers promised to stand by him, and to hazard their lives and fortunes in his defence. They also recommended him to the queen as the most proper person she could choose for a husband.

Bothwell had now brought his schemes to full maturity, and every precaution being taken, which could render it safe to enter on the last and decisive step, the natural impetuosity of his spirit did not suffer him to deliberate any longer. Under pretence of an expedition against the freebooters on the borders, he assembled his followers, and marching out of Edinburgh with a thousand horse, turned suddenly towards Linlithgow, met the queen on her return near that place, dispersed her slender train without resistance, seized on her person, and conducted her, together with a few of her courti-

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ers, as a prisoner to his castle at Dunbar. She expressed neither surprise, nor terror, nor indignation, at this outrage; but seemed to yield without struggle or regret.

Both the queen and Bothwell thought it of advantage to employ this appearance of violence. It afforded her a decent excuse for her conduct, and while she could plead that it was owing to force, rather than choice, she hoped that her reputation, among foreigners at least, would be exposed to less reproach.

Bothwell having now got the queen's person into his hands, it would have been unbecoming either a politician or a man of gallantry, to have delayed consummating his schemes. For this purpose, he instantly commenced a suit in order to obtain a sentence of divorce from his wife, lady Jane Gordon, the earl of Huntley's sister. This process was carried on, at the same time, before protestant and popish judges. The pretexts which he pleaded were trivial or scandalous. But his authority had greater weight than the justice of the cause, and sentence of divorce was pronounced with indecent and suspicious precipitancy.

While this infamous transaction was carrying on, the queen resided at Dunbar, detained as a prisoner, but treated with the greatest respect. Soon after, Bothwell, with a numerous train of his dependents, conducted her to Edinburgh, but instead of lodging her in the palace of Holyrood-house, he conveyed her to the castle of which he was governor. The discontent of the nation rendered this precaution necessary. In a place of such strength she was secured from all the attempts of his enemies.

One small difficulty still remained to be surmounted. As the queen was kept in a sort of captivity by Bothwell, a marriage concluded in that condition might be imputed to force, and be held invalid. In order to obviate this, Mary appeared in the Court of Session, and in presence of the chancellor and other judges, and several of the nobility, declared that she was now at full liberty; and, though Bothwell's violence

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in seizing her person, had, at first, excited her indignation, yet his respectful behaviour, since that time, had not only appeased her resentment, but determined her to raise him to higher honours.

What these were, soon became public. The title of duke of Orkney was conferred upon Bothwell, and on the 15th of May, 1567, his marriage with the queen, which had so long been the object of his wishes, and the motive of his crimes, was solemnized. The ceremony was performed in public, according to the rights of the protestant church; and, on the same day, was celebrated in private, according to the forms prescribed by the popish religion.

The title of king was the only thing which was not bestowed upon Bothwell. She agreed, however, that he should sign, in token of consent, all the public writs issued in her name. This was nothing more than mere form; but, together with it, he possessed all the reality of power. The queen's person was in his hands; she was surrounded more closely than ever by his creatures; none of her subjects could obtain audience without his permission; and, unless in his own presence, none of his confidants were permitted to converse with her.

These precautions were necessary for securing to Bothwell the power which he had acquired. But, without being master of the person of the young prince, he esteemed all that he had gained as precarious and uncertain. The queen had committed her son to the care of the earl of Mar. That nobleman would not consent to put the prince into the hands of the man who was so violently suspected of having murdered his father. Bothwell, however, laboured to get him into his power with an anxiety which gave rise to the blackest suspicions.

The eyes of the neighbouring nations were fixed, at that time, upon the great events which had happened in Scotland during a period of three months. A king murdered, with the utmost cruelty, in the prime of his days, and in his capital

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city; the person suspected of that odious crime suffered, not only to appear publicly in every place, but admitted into the presence of the queen, distinguished by her favour and intrusted with the chief direction of her affairs; divorced from his wife on pretences frivolous or indecent; and after all, permitted openly to marry a queen, the wife of the prince whom he had assassinated. Such a quick succession of incidents, so singular, and so detestable, filled all Europe with amazement, and threw infamy, not only on the principal actors in the guilty scene, but also on the whole nation. The Scots were universally reproached as men void of courage, as equally regardless of the honour of their queen, and the reputation of their country.

These reproaches so justly merited, together with some attempts made by Bothwell to get the young prince into his power, roused the Scottish nobles from their lethargy. A considerable body of them assembled at Stirling, and entered into an association for the defence of the prince's person, and for punishing the king's murderers. The queen and Bothwell were thrown into the utmost consternation by the news of this league. They were no strangers to the sentiments of the nation with respect to their conduct: they foresaw the storm that was ready to burst on their heads; and in order to prepare for it, Mary issued a proclamation, requiring her subjects to take arms and attend her husband by a day appointed. She published, at the same time, a sort of manifesto, in which, she endeavoured to vindicate her government from those imputations with which it had been loaded, and employed the strongest terms to express her concern for the safety and welfare of the prince her son. But neither of these measures produced any considerable effect. The associated lords had assembled an army, before the queen and Bothwell were in any condition to face them. Mary and her husband fled to Dunbar; and, as Bothwell had many dependants in that quarter, he gathered in a short time such forces as emboldened him to leave the fortress, and advance towards the confederates.

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The two armies met at Carberry hill, about six miles from Edinburgh; and Mary soon became sensible that her own troops, nearly equal in number to those of the confederates, disapproved of her cause, and were averse to spill their blood in the quarrel. They discovered no inclination to fight. She attempted to animate them, she wept, she threatened, she reproached them with cowardice, but all in vain. Bothwell endeavoured to inspirit them, by offering to decide the quarrel, and to vindicate his own innocence, in single combat with any of his adversaries. Three of these offered to enter the lists with him. But this challenge proved to be a mere bravado. Either the consciousness of guilt deprived Bothwell of his wonted courage, or the queen by her authority forbade the combat.

After the symptoms of fear discovered by her followers, Mary would have been inexcusable had she hazarded a battle. To have retreated in the face of an enemy was utterly impracticable. In this situation she was under the necessity of putting herself into the hands of those subjects who had taken arms against her. She demanded an interview with Kirkaldy, a brave and generous man, who commanded an advanced body of the enemy. He, with the consent, and in the name of the leaders of the party, promised that on condition she would dismiss Bothwell from her presence, and govern the kingdom by the advice of her nobles, they would honour and obey her as their sovereign.

During this parley Bothwell took his last farewell of the queen, and rode off the field with a few followers. This dismal reverse happened exactly one month after that marriage which had cost him so many crimes to accomplish, and which leaves so foul a stain on Mary's memory.

Bothwell fled, unattended, to Dunbar; where finding it impossible to collect fresh forces, he fitted out a few small vessels, set sail for the Orkneys, and there subsisted some time by piracy: but, being pursued even to that extreme corner, the greater part of his little fleet was taken, together with

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several of his servants, who afterwards discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder, and suffered for the crime. Bothwell, himself, made his escape, with a single ship, towards Norway. On that coast he attempted to renew his piracies; was there taken, thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably about ten years after in the bottom of a dungeon, unpitied by his countrymen, and neglected by strangers.

Mean while the queen of Scots, now in the hands of an enraged faction, was conducted to Edinburgh, amid the insults of the populace, who reproached her with her crimes, and held up before her eyes, which way soever she turned, a standard on which was painted the dead body of her late husband, and her infant son kneeling before it, and uttering these words: "judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!" Mary turned with horror from such a shocking object; but, notwithstanding all her arguments and entreaties, the same standard was held to view, and the same insults and reproaches repeated. Under pretence that her behaviour was unsuitable to her condition, and fearing the return of Bothwell, to whom she still declared her attachment, the confederates sent her, next day, to the castle of Lochlevin, seated on a small island, in the middle of a lake of that name; and signed a warrant to William Douglas, the owner of it, to detain her a prisoner.

No sooner did the news of these events reach England, than Elizabeth resolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinswoman. She instantly dispatched Sir Nicholas Throgmorton into Scotland, with power to negotiate both with the queen and the confederates. But neither Elizabeth's friendship, nor Throgmorton's zeal and abilities, were of much benefit to the Scottish queen. The confederates foresaw that Mary, elated by the prospect of protection, would reject, with disdain, the overtures which they were about to make to her; they, therefore, peremptorily denied the ambassador access to their prisoner, and either refused, or eluded, the proposals he made them on her behalf.

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The queen of Scots, in the mean time, endured all the hardships and terror of a prison: no prospect of liberty appeared; none of her subjects had either taken arms, or so much as solicited her relief; and no person, in whom she could confide, was admitted into her presence. She was cut off from all the world. In this melancholy situation, without a counsellor, without a friend, under the pressure of misfortune, and the apprehension of danger, it was natural for a woman to listen to almost any overtures. The confederates took advantage of her distress, and of her fears: they employed lord Lindsay, the fiercest zealot of the party, to make her acquainted with their scheme, and threatened to prosecute her as the principal conspirator against the life of her husband, and the safety of her son, if she refused to comply with their demands. Mary, overpowered by her unhappy condition, and believing that no deed which she executed during her captivity, would be valid, signed a resignation of the crown; in consequence of which the earl of Murray was appointed regent, under the young prince, who was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI.

The condescension of the queen of Scots, in resigning the crown to her son, and the administration of government to her subjects, did not procure her enlargement. She was still confined in the castle of Lochlevin. A parliament summoned by Murray, even declared her resignation valid; and her imprisonment lawful, while it recognised his election to the office of regent.

But though all men seemed to acquiesce in Murray's authority, there still abounded in Scotland many secret murmurs and cabals. The duke of Chatelherault, who, as first prince of the blood, thought he had an undoubted right to the regency, bore no good will to the new government; and the same sentiments were embraced by his numerous friends and adherents. All who leaned to the ancient opinions in religion, were inclined to join this party, and the length and rigour of Mary's sufferings, began to move many to commiserate her

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present condition. Animated by these different motives, a body of the nobility met at Hamilton, and concerted measures for supporting the cause of the queen.

While the Scottish nation was thus returning to sentiments of duty and loyalty to their sovereign, Mary recovered her liberty, in a manner no less surprising to her friends than unexpected by her enemies. She engaged, by her charms and caresses, George Douglas, her keeper's brother, to assist her in that enterprise. He conveyed her, in disguise, into a small boat, and himself rowed her ashore. She hastened to Hamilton, and the news of her arrival at that place being immediately spread abroad, her court was filled, in a few days, with a great and splendid train of nobility, accompanied by such numbers of their retainers, as composed an army six thousand strong. Her resignation of the crown, which she declared to have been extorted by fear, was pronounced illegal and void, by a council of the nobles and chief men of her party; and an association was formed at the same time for the defence of her person and authority, and subscribed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, besides many gentlemen of distinction.

Elizabeth, when informed of the escape of the queen of Scots, despatched Maitland of Lethington into Scotland, to offer her her good offices, and the assistance of her arms. But the regent made such haste to assemble forces, that the fate of Scotland was decided before any English succours could arrive. Confiding in the valour of his troops, Murray took the field with an army far inferior to Mary's in number; and a battle was fought at Langside, near Glasgow, which proved entirely decisive in his favour, and was followed by the total dispersion of the queen's party.

Mary, who, within the space of thirteen days, had been a prisoner at the mercy of her rebellious subjects, had seen a powerful army under her command, and a numerous train of nobles at her devotion, was now obliged to flee in the utmost danger of her life, and lurk with a few attendants in a cor-

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ner of her kingdom. She had beheld the engagement from a neighbouring hill; and so lively were her impressions of fear when she saw that army broken on which her last hope reted, that she never closed her eyes till she reached the abbey of Dundrenan, in Galloway, about fourscore English miles from the field of battle. Not thinking herself safe, even in that obscure retreat, and still haunted by the horrors of a prison, she embraced the rash resolution of retiring into England, and throwing herself on the generosity of her kinswoman.

Elizabeth now saw herself under the necessity of coming to some decisive determination with respect to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and the pleasure of mortifying a rival, whose beauty and accomplishments she envied, determined her to regulate her conduct entirely by the cruel maxims of an insidious policy. In answer therefore to Mary's message, notifying her arrival in England, craving leave to visit the queen, and claiming her protection, Elizabeth artfully replied, that while the queen of Scots lay under the imputation of a crime so horrid as the murder of her husband, she could not, without bringing a stain on her own reputation, admit her into her presence, but, as soon as she had cleared herself from that aspersion, she might depend on a reception suitable to her dignity.

Mary was overwhelmed with sorrow and surprise, at so unexpected a manner of evading her request: nor was her bosom a stranger to the feelings of indignation; but the distress of her condition obliged her to declare, that she would willingly justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and chearfully submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend. This was the very point to which Elizabeth wished to bring the matter, and the great object of all her intrigues. She now considered herself as umpire between the queen of Scots and her subjects, and began to act in that capacity. She proposed to appoint commissioners to hear the pleadings on both sides; and wrote to the regent of Scotland to appoint

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proper persons to appear before them in his name, and to produce what he could allege in vindication of his proceedings against his sovereign.

Mary, who had hitherto relied with some degree of confidence on Elizabeth's professions, and who, when she consented to submit her cause to that princess, expected that the queen herself would receive and examine her defences, now plainly perceived the artifice of her rival, and the snare that had been laid for her. She therefore retracted the offer which she had made, and which had been perverted to a purpose so contrary to her intention; she meant to consider Elizabeth as an equal, for whose satisfaction she was willing to explain any part of her conduct that seemed liable to censure, not to acknowledge her as a superior. But her own words will best express her sentiments on this subject. "In my present situation," says she, in a letter to the English queen, "I neither will, nor can, reply to the accusations of my subjects. But I am ready of my own accord, and out of friendship to you, to satisfy your scruples, and to vindicate my own conduct. My subjects are not my equals: nor will I, by submitting my cause to a judicial trial, acknowledge them to be so. I fled into your arms as into those of a nearest relation, and most perfect friend. Suffer me either to implore the aid of other princes, or let me receive, from your hands, that assistance which it becomes you more than any prince to grant; and by that benefit bind me to yourself in the indissoluble ties of gratitude."

This letter the English queen laid before her privy council; and it was there agreed that Elizabeth could not, consistently with her own honour, or with the safety of her government, either give the queen of Scots the assistance which she demanded, or permit her to retire out of the kingdom before the inquiry into her conduct was finished. It was also agreed to remove Mary, for the sake of greater safety, from Carlisle, where she had taken refuge, to Bolton, on the borders of Yorkshire.

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The resolution of the English privy council, in regard to Mary's person, was immediately carried into execution; and she now felt herself entirely in her rival's power. Her correspondence with her friends in Scotland was become difficult; all prospect of escape was entirely cut off; and though she was still treated with the respect due to a queen, her real condition was that of a prisoner.

Elizabeth laid hold of this season of terror, of impatience and despair, to extort Mary's consent to the projected trial. She was confident, she said, that the queen of Scots would find no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; and though her apology should even fall short of conviction, she was determined to support her cause. It was never meant, she added, that Mary should be cited to a trial on the accusation of her rebellious subjects; but, on the contrary, that they should be summoned to appear and to justify themselves for their conduct towards her. Commissioners were accordingly appointed by the English ministry, for the examination of this great cause: and conferences were held between them and the Scottish commissioners, appointed by, and acting for, the queen of Scots, and others named on behalf of the king and kingdom, first at York, and afterwards at Hampton Court.

During the conference at York, Mary's commissioners seemed to triumph, as the regent had hitherto declined accusing her of any participation in the guilt of her husband's murder, which alone could justify the violent proceedings of her subjects. But the face of the question was soon changed on the renewal of the conference at Hampton court, a place more immediately under the eye of the English queen. Murray, encouraged by the assurances of Elizabeth's protection, laid aside his delicacy and his fears, and not only charged his sovereign with consenting to the murder of her husband, but with being accessary to its contrivance and execution. The same accusation was offered by the earl of

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Lennox, who, appearing before the English commissioners, craved vengeance for the blood of his son.

Mary, in the mean time, sensible of Elizabeth's partiality to the regent, had given instructions to her commissioners to break off the conference. That order they produced, but unfortunately too late, when all their eloquence was become necessary in order to vindicate the character of their mistress; so that their ill-timed silence was universally ascribed to a consciousness of her guilt. But presumptions were not enough for Elizabeth; she wanted to have proofs; and in order to draw them with decency from the regent, she commanded her commissioners to testify her indignation and displeasure, at his presumption, in forgetting so far the duty of a subject as to accuse his sovereign of such atrocious crimes. Murray, thus arraigned in his turn, offered to shew that his accusations were neither false nor malicious: he produced, among other evidences, in support of his charge, some sonnets and love letters from Mary to Bothwell, partly written before, partly after, the murder of her husband, containing incontestible proofs of her consent to that barbarous deed, of her criminal amours, and her concurrence in the pretended rape.

Elizabeth, having got into her possession these evidences of her rival's guilt, began to treat her with less delicacy. Orders were given for removing her from Bolton, a place surrounded with catholics, to Tutbury, in the county of Suffolk; and as Elizabeth entertained hopes that the queen of Scots, depressed by her misfortunes, would be glad to secure a safe retreat at the expense of her grandeur, she promised to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree either to confirm her resignation of the crown, or to associate her son with her in the government, and let the administration remain with the earl of Murray till the young prince should come to the years of discretion. But that high-spirited princess refused all treaty on such terms. "Death," said she, "is less dreadful than such an igno-

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minious step. Rather than give away, with my own hands, the crown which descended to me from my ancestors, I will part with life: but the last words which I utter, shall be those of a queen of Scotland."

An end being now put to the conferences, the regent returned into Scotland, and Mary was confined more closely than ever. In vain did she still demand that Elizabeth should either assist her in recovering her authority, or permit her to retire into France and make trial of the friendship of other princes. Sensible of the danger attending both these proposals, Elizabeth resolved to comply with neither, but to detain her still a prisoner: and the proofs produced of Mary's guilt, she hoped, would apologize for this severity.

The fatal marriage of the queen of Scots with Bothwell was the principal source of all her misfortunes. A divorce only could repair, in any degree, the injuries her reputation had suffered by that step, and a new choice seemed the most effectual means of recovering her authority: her friends, therefore, looked out for a husband whose influence would be sufficient to accomplish this desirable end. A foreign alliance was for many reasons to be avoided; and as the duke of Norfolk was, without comparison, the first subject in England, and enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular with the most opposite factions, his marriage with the queen of Scots appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his own friends, as well as those of Mary. Maitland of Lethington opened the scheme to him: he set before that nobleman the glory of composing the dissensions in Scotland, and, at the same time, held to view the prospect of reaping the succession of England. The duke readily closed with a proposal so flattering to his ambition, nor was Mary herself averse to a measure which promised so desirable a change in her condition.

But this scheme, like all those formed for the relief of the queen of Scots, had an unfortunate issue. Though the duke

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of Norfolk had declared that Elizabeth's consent should be obtained before the conclusion of this marriage, he attempted previously to gain the approbation of the most considerable of the English nobility, as he had reason to apprehend a violent opposition from her perpetual jealousy of her rival; and as the nation now began to despair of the queen's marrying, and Mary's right to the succession was generally held to be undoubted, her alliance with an Englishman, and a zealous protestant, seemed so effectually to provide against all those evils which might be apprehended from her choice of a foreign and popish prince, that the greater part of the people either directly or tacitly approved of it as a salutary project.

Norfolk flattered himself that the union of so many nobles would make it necessary for the queen to comply; and, in a matter of so much consequence to the nation, the taking a few steps, without her knowledge, could scarcely, he thought, be reckoned criminal. But Elizabeth thought otherwise. Any measure to her appeared criminal, that tended so visibly to save the reputation and increase the power of her rival. She also saw, that how perfect soever Norfolk's allegiance might be, several of the nobles, who conducted the intrigue, had farther and more dangerous views, than the relief of the queen of Scots: and she dropt several hints to the duke that she was acquainted with his designs, warning him frequently to beware on "what pillow he reposed his head." Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was at length given her. The Scottish regent, threatened with Elizabeth's displeasure, also meanly betrayed the duke, put his letters into her hands, and furnished all the information in his power. Norfolk was committed to the tower; several other noblemen were taken into custody; and the queen of Scots was removed to Coventry, where her imprisonment was rendered more intolerable.

This intrigue was no sooner discovered, than an attempt was made to restore the Scottish queen to liberty by force of arms. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two

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of the most ancient and powerful of the English peers, were both attached to the Romish religion, and discontented with the court, where new men and a new system prevailed. Ever since Mary's arrival in England, they had warmly espoused her interest; and had even engaged in several plots for her relief. They were privy to Norfolk's scheme; but the moderation and coolness of that nobleman did not suit their ardour and impetuosity. The liberty of the Scottish queen was not their sole object: they aimed at bringing about a change in the religion, and a revolution in the government of the kingdom. For these purposes they had solicited the aid of the king of Spain, the avowed patron of popery, and the natural enemy of Elizabeth. Glad of an opportunity of disturbing the tranquillity of England, Philip ordered the duke of Alva to encourage the two earls, in their projected rebellion, by a promise of money and troops. But Elizabeth fortunately got intelligence of their design before they were ready to take the field; and though they immediately assembled their retainers, and flew to arms, the queen acted with so much prudence and vigour, that they were obliged to disperse without striking a blow.

Elizabeth was so well pleased with the duke of Norfolk's behaviour during this insurrection, that she released him from the Tower, and allowed him to live in his own house, though under some show of confinement. But the queen of Scots, with whom he promised to hold no farther correspondence, was only more strictly guarded; and Elizabeth, sensible of the danger of detaining her any longer in England, resolved to deliver Mary into the hands of the regent; but his sudden death, being shot in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, prevented the execution of the project.

On the death of the earl of Murray, who was a man of vigour and abilities, Scotland relapsed into a state of anarchy. The queen's party seemed for a time to prevail; but at length the earl of Lennox, the king's grandfather, was elected regent;

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and Mary, after being amused during ten months, by a deceitful negotiation, and the hopes of liberty, found herself under stricter custody than ever, and without any hopes of escaping.

The queen of Scots, thinking herself abandoned by the court of France, had applied for protection to that of Spain; and Philip held for some time a secret correspondence with Mary, by means of the bishop of Ross, one of her ambassadors at the English court, and had supplied both herself and her adherents in Scotland with money. At length a scheme for rescuing Mary, and subverting the English government, was concerted by the bishop, the Spanish ambassador, and Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had resided long in London, and acted privately as an agent for the pope. Their plan was, that the duke of Alva should land ten thousand men in the neighbourhood of London; that the duke of Norfolk, whom they had drawn into their measures, and who, notwithstanding his promise to Elizabeth, had renewed his engagements with the queen of Scots, should join the Spaniards with all his friends, together with the English catholics and malcontents; that they should march in a body to the capital, and oblige the queen to submit to what conditions they should think fit to impose.

But the nation was delivered from this danger by the suspicious temper of one of Norfolk's servants. Being entrusted with a bag of gold coin, under the denomination of silver, he concluded it to be gold from its weight, and carried it to secretary Cecil, now lord Burleigh, whose penetrating genius soon brought the whole conspiracy to light. The duke, betrayed by his other servants, who had been privy to the plot, was seized, convicted of high treason, condemned and executed. The bishop of Ross was committed to the Tower, the Spanish ambassador was commanded to leave England, and the earl of Northumberland was brought to the scaffold.

The queen of Scots, who had been either the immediate or remote cause of all these disturbances, was kept under a

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stricter guard than formerly; the number of her domestics was abridged, and no person was permitted to see her, but in the presence of her keepers. The English parliament was even so enraged against her, that the commons made a direct application for her instant trial and execution. But Elizabeth durst not, as yet, carry matters to that extremity. Scotland was still in a state of anarchy. The castle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of her party, encouraged by this circumstance, had taken possession of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war against the regent. In a sudden and unexpected inroad they seized that nobleman at Stirling, and slew him in revenge of former injuries. The earl of Mar was chosen regent in the room of Lennox, and found the same difficulties to encounter in the government of that divided kingdom: he was therefore glad to accept of the mediation of the French and English ambassadors, and to conclude, on equal terms, a truce with the queen's party. He was a man of a free and generous spirit, and finding it impossible to accommodate matters between the parties, or maintain his own authority, without submitting to a dependence on England, he died of melancholy, occasioned by the distracted state of his country. Mar was succeeded in the regency by Morton, who had secretly taken all his measures in concert with Elizabeth; and as she was now determined to exert herself effectually in support of the king's party, she ordered Sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, to march with some troops and artillery to Edinburgh, and to besiege the castle. Kirkaldy, after a gallant defence of thirty-three days, was obliged to surrender in consequence of a mutiny in the garrison. He was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by Elizabeth's order, expressly contrary to his capitulation with Drury, and condemned by Morton to be hanged. Maitland, who had taken part with Kirkaldy, and could not expect to be treated more favourably, prevented the ignominy of a public execution, by a voluntary death. "He ended his days," says Mel-

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vil, "after the old Roman fashion:" and Scotland submitted entirely to the regent's authority.

Though the kingdom was now settled in profound peace, many of the evils which accompany civil war, were still felt. The restraints of law were totally despised by a fierce people, unaccustomed to the regular administration of justice. Disorders in every corner of the kingdom were become intolerable, and crimes of every kind were committed with impunity. The regent endeavoured to repress them; but his own exactions became more pernicious to the nation than all the irregularities which he restrained.

The Scottish nobles observed the arbitrary proceedings of the regent with the utmost indignation, and all began to turn their eyes towards the young king, from whom they expected the redress of all their grievances.

James, now in the twelfth year of his age, shewed an uncommon passion for learning, and made such progress, as encouraged some of the nobles, who groaned under the oppressive government of the regent, to form a conspiracy for investing the young king with the government. This was effected with the apparent consent of the regent, who resigned in his favour.

A council of twelve peers was appointed to assist the king in the administration of affairs; but the regent soon repossessed himself of his former power. At the age of fifteen, the king, with the advice of his nobles, took on himself the government of the kingdom.

The Scottish nobility, however, dissatisfied with the new administration, which was entirely directed by Lennox and Arran, formed a conspiracy for seizing the person of the king at Ruthven, and the design being kept secret, they succeeded without any opposition. James wept when he found himself a prisoner, but no compassion was shewn him. "Mind not his tears," said the master of Glamis: "better that boys should weep, than bearded men." The king was obliged to submit to the present necessity, to pretend an en-

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tire acquiescence in the conduct of the conspirators, and to acknowledge the detention of his person to be an acceptable service.

But the affairs of Scotland remained not long in this situation. James, impatient of restraint, made his escape from his keepers, and flying to St. Andrews, summoned his friends and partisans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Crawford, Montrose, and Rothes, hastened to pay their duty to their sovereign; and the opposite party, finding themselves unable to resist so powerful a combination, took shelter in England.

While Scotland was torn by intestine factions, Elizabeth was alarmed with the rumour of a project in agitation for setting Mary at liberty. This, though discovered and defeated, was speedily followed by others of a more serious nature.

These repeated conspiracies awakened the indignation of the English parliament, and produced a very extraordinary statute, which in the end proved fatal to the queen of Scots. By this law, it was enacted, "That if any rebellion shall be excited in the kingdom, or any thing attempted to the hurt of her majesty's person, by, or for, any person pretending a title to the crown, the queen shall empower twenty-four persons to examine into, and pass sentence upon such offences, and after judgment given, a proclamation shall be issued, declaring the persons whom they find guilty excluded from any right to the crown, and her majesty's subjects may lawfully pursue every one of them to the death, with all their aiders and abettors." This act was plainly levelled at the queen of Scots; it is no easy matter to reconcile it with the general principles of justice or humanity. Mary was thereby rendered accountable not only for her own actions, but for those of others, in consequence of which she might forfeit her right of succession, and even life itself.

Mary justly considered this act as a warning to prepare for the worst. It is probable that it had been resolved, about this time, to take away her life. Elizabeth's ministers suf-

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fered books to be published in order to persuade the nation, that this cruel and unprecedented measure was not only necessary, but just. They were induced to favour this severe measure, from the bigoted policy of the Catholics hostile to Elizabeth. The Romish priests, particularly in the foreign seminaries for the education of English students of the Catholic communion, endeavoured to persuade their disciples, that it would be a meritorious action to take away her life.

Those seminaries were founded in order to prevent the decay of the ancient religion in England; and they sent over yearly a colony of young priests, who maintained the Romish superstition in its full height of bigotry. They were all under the direction of the Jesuits. These ghostly fathers persuaded William Parry, an English gentleman, and a convert to the Catholic religion, that he could not perform a more acceptable service to heaven, than to take away the life of his sovereign.

Not long after, the inconsiderate affection of the English Catholics towards Mary, and their implacable resentment against Elizabeth, gave rise to a conspiracy which proved fatal to one queen, left an indelible stain on the reputation of the other, and presented a spectacle to Europe, of which there had hitherto been no example in the history of mankind. Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, instigated by John Ballard, a Romish priest, of the seminary of Rheims, engaged in a conspiracy against the life of queen Elizabeth, his sovereign, as a necessary prelude to the deliverance of the queen of Scots, and the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England. The plot was discovered by the vigilance of secretary Walsingham; and Babington, and thirteen others, among whom was Ballard, suffered the death of traitors.

On the trial of the conspirators, it appeared that the queen of Scots, who had held a correspondence with Babington, had encouraged him in his treasonable enterprise: and it was

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resolved by Elizabeth, and her ministers, to bring Mary also to a public trial, as being accessary to the conspiracy. Her papers were accordingly seized, her principal domestics arrested, and her two secretaries sent prisoners to London. After the necessary information had been obtained, forty commissioners, appointed under the great seal, together with five of the judges, were sent to Fotheringay castle, where Mary was now confined, to hear and decide this great cause.

An idea so repugnant to majesty as being arraigned for treason, had not once entered the mind of the queen of Scots, though she no longer doubted that her destruction was determined on; nor had the strange resolution yet reached her ears in the solitude of her prison. She received the intelligence, however, without emotion or astonishment; and she protested, in the most solemn manner, that she had never countenanced any attempt against the life of Elizabeth, at the same time that she refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of her commissioners; "I came into England," said she, "an independent sovereign, to implore the queen's assistance, not to subject myself to her authority; nor is my spirit so broken by past misfortunes, or so intimidated by present dangers, as to stoop to any thing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head, or that will disgrace the ancestors from whom I am descended, and the son to whom I shall leave my throne. If I must be tried, princes alone can be my peers. The queen of England's subjects, however noble their birth may be, are of a rank inferior to mine. Ever since my arrival in this kingdom, I have been confined as a prisoner. Its laws never afforded me protection. Let them not now be perverted in order to take away my life.

Mary, however, was at last persuaded to appear before the commissioners, "to hear and to give answer to the accusations which should be offered against her;" though she still refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court. The chancellor endeavoured to vindicate its authority, by pleading the supreme jurisdiction of the English laws over every one

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who resided in England: the lawyers of the crown opened the charge against the queen of Scots, and the commissioners, after hearing her defence, and adjourning to Westminster, pronounced sentence of death upon that unfortunate princess, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions.

The chief evidence against Mary arose from the declaration of her secretaries, for no proof could otherwise be produced, that the letters from Babington were delivered into her hands, or that any answer was returned by her direction: and the testimony of two witnesses, even though men of character, who knew themselves exposed to all the rigours of imprisonment, torture, and death, if they refused to give any evidence which might be required of them, was by no means conclusive. In order to screen themselves they might throw the blame on her; but they could discover nothing to her prejudice without violating that oath of fidelity, which they had taken in consequence of their office; and their perjury in one instance rendered them unworthy of credit in another. Besides, they were not confronted with her, though she desired that they might, and affirmed, that they would never, to her face, persist in their evidence.

It was not, however, on the evidence produced at her trial, that the sentence against Mary was founded. That served as a pretence to justify, but was not the cause, of the violent steps taken by Elizabeth and her ministers to procure her destruction, but was employed to give some appearance of justice to what was the offspring of jealousy and fear.

The parliament met a few days after sentence was pronounced against Mary. Both lords and commons were equally under the dominion of popular prejudices and passions, and the same excesses of zeal, or of fear, which prevailed in the nation, are apparent in all their proceedings. After many violent invectives against the queen of Scots, both houses unanimously ratified the proceedings of the commissioners, by whom she had been tried, and declared the sentence against her to be just and well founded. Not satisfied with

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this, they presented a joint address to the queen, beseeching her as she regarded her own safety, the preservation of the protestant religion, the welfare and wishes of her people, to inflict on her rival the punishment which she had merited by so many crimes. They asserted that Mary's life was incompatible with Elizabeth's safety; and if she were spared out of a false clemency, the queen's person, the religion, and liberties of the kingdom could not be one moment secure.

Nothing could be more acceptable to Elizabeth than an address in this strain. It extricated her out of a situation extremely embarrassing, and without depriving her of the power of sparing, it enabled her to punish her rival with less appearance of blame. Her answer was in a style ambiguous and evasive, full of such professions of regard for her people, as served to heighten their loyalty; of such complaints of Mary's ingratitude, as were well calculated to excite their indignation. In the end she besought them to save her the infamy, and the pain, of delivering up a queen, her nearest kinswoman, to punishment.

The true meaning of this reply was easily understood. The lords and commons renewed their former request with additional importunity, which was far from being either unexpected or offensive. Elizabeth having obtained such a public sanction of her proceedings, adjourned the parliament, and reserved in her own hands the sole disposal of her rival's fate.

All the princes in Europe observed the proceedings against Mary with astonishment and horror. Some of them interceded for her with great appearance of warmth. They pleaded from justice, from generosity, and humanity; they intermingled reproaches, and threats: but to all these Elizabeth continued deaf and inexorable.

She paid no greater regard to the solicitations of the Scottish king, which, as they were urged with more sincerity, merited more attention. He beheld the indignities to which his mother had been exposed, with filial concern, and with the sentiments which became a king.

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As soon as the extraordinary steps which Elizabeth took, discovered her intention, James despatched sir William Keith to London; who, together with Douglas, his ambassador in ordinary, remonstrated in the strongest terms against the injury done to an independent queen, in subjecting her to be tried like a private person, and by laws to which she owed no obedience; and besought Elizabeth not to add to this injury, by suffering a sentence, unjust in itself, as well as dishonourable to the king of Scots, to be put into execution.

Elizabeth meanwhile discovered all the symptoms of the most violent agitation, and disquietude of mind. She shunned society; she was often found in a melancholy and musing posture; and repeating with much emphasis those sentences, which she borrowed from some of the devices then in vogue; Aut fer aut feri; ne feriareferi. Much, no doubt, of this apparent uneasiness must be imputed to dissimulation; it was impossible however, that a princess, naturally so cautious as Elizabeth, should venture on an action which might expose her memory to infamy, and her life and kingdom to danger, without reflecting deeply and hesitating long. Her chief anxiety was now to secure the advantages which would arise from Mary's death, without appearing to have given her consent to a death so infamous. She often hinted to Paulet and Drury, as well as to some other courtiers, that now was the time to discover the sincerity of their concern for her safety, and that she expected their zeal would extricate her out of her present perplexity. But they were wise enough to seem not to understand her meaning. Even after the warrant was signed, she commanded a letter to be written to Paulet, in less ambiguous terms, complaining of his remissness in sparing so long the life of her capital enemy, and begging him to remember, at last, what was incumbent on him as an affectionate subject, and to deliver his sovereign from continual fear and danger, by shortening the days of his prisoner. Paulet, though rigorous and harsh, was nevertheless a man of honour and integrity. He rejected the proposal with disdain. Disappointed

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in this mode of being freed from her rival, Elizabeth signed the death warrant, and the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, together with the high sheriff of the county, were appointed to see the sentence put in execution.

On the 7th of February 1587, the two earls demanded access to the queen; read in her presence the warrant for execution, and required her to prepare to die next morning. Mary heard them to the end without emotion, and crossing herself in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, "that soul," said she, "is not worthy the joys of Heaven, which repines because the body must endure the stroke of the executioner." Laying her hand on a bible which happened to be near her, she solemnly protested that she was innocent of that conspiracy which Babington had carried on against Elizabeth's life. She then mentioned the requests contained in her letter to Elizabeth, but obtained no satisfactory answer. She entreated, with particular earnestness, that now, in her last moments, her Almoner might be suffered to attend her, and that she might enjoy the consolation of those pious institutions prescribed by her religion. Even this favour was absolutely denied.

Her attendants, during this conversation, were bathed in tears; but no sooner did Kent and Shrewsbury withdraw, than they ran to their mistress, and burst out into the most passionate expressions of tenderness and sorrow. Mary, however, not only retained perfect composure of mind, but endeavoured to moderate their excessive grief; and falling on her knees with all her domestics round her, she thanked heaven that her sufferings were now so near an end; and prayed that she might be enabled to endure what still remained, with decency and with fortitude. The greater part of the evening she employed in settling her worldly affairs. She wrote her testament with her own hand. Her money, her jewels, and her clothes, she distributed among her servants according to their rank or merit. She wrote a short letter to the king of France, and another to the duke of Guise, full of

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tender but magnanimous sentiments, and recommended her soul to their prayers, and her afflicted servants to their protection. At supper she eat temperately as usual, and conversed not only with ease, but with cheerfulness; she drank to every one of her servants, and asked their forgiveness if ever she had failed in any part of her duty towards them. At her wonted time, she went to bed and slept calmly for a few hours. Early in the morning she retired into her closet, and employed a considerable time in devotion. At eight o'clock, the high sheriff and his officers entered her chamber, and found her still kneeling at the altar. She immediately started up, and with a majestic mien, and a countenance undismayed, and even cheerful, advanced towards the place of execution. She was dressed in a mourning habit, but with an elegance and splendor which she had long laid aside. An Agnus Dei hung by a pomander chain at her neck; her beads at her girdle; and in her hand she carried a crucifix of ivory. At the bottom of the stairs, the two earls, attended by several gentlemen from the neighbouring counties, received her; and there sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, was permitted to take his last farewell. At the sight of a mistress whom he tenderly loved, in such a situation, he melted into tears, and as he was bewailing her hard condition, Mary replied, "weep not, good Melvil, there is at present greater cause for rejoicing. Thou shalt this day see Mary Stuart delivered from all her cares, and such an end put to her tedious sufferings as she has long expected. Bear witness that I die constant in my religion; firm in my fidelity towards Scotland; and unchanged in my affection for France. Commend me to my son. Tell him I have done nothing injurious to his kingdom, to his honour, or to his rights; and God forgive all those who have thirsted without cause for my blood."

With much difficulty, after many intreaties, she prevailed on the two earls to allow Melvil, together with three of her men servants, and two of her maids, to attend her to the

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scaffold. Mary mounted the steps with alacrity, beheld all the apparatus of death with an unaltered countenance, and, signing herself with the cross, she sat down in the chair. Beale read the warrant for execution with a loud voice, to which she listened like one occupied in other thoughts. Then the dean of Peterborough began a devout discourse, suitable to her present condition, and offered up prayers to heaven in her behalf. When the dean had finished, she, with an audible voice, and in the English tongue, commended unto God the afflicted state of the church, and prayed for prosperity to her son, and for a long and peaceable reign to Elizabeth. She declared that she hoped for mercy only through the death of Christ, at the foot of whose image she now willingly shed her blood, and lifting up and kissing the crucifix, she thus addressed it: "As thy arms, O Jesus, were extended on the cross; so with the out-stretched arms of thy mercy receive me, and forgive my sins."

She then prepared for the block, by taking off her veil and upper garments, and one of the executioners rudely endeavouring to assist, she gently checked him and said, with a smile, that she had not been accustomed to undress before so many spectators, nor to be served by such valets. With calm but undaunted fortitude she laid her neck on the block, and while one executioner held her hands, the other, at the second stroke, cut off her head, which, falling out of its attire, discovered her hair already grown grey with cares and sorrows. The executioner held it up still streaming with blood, and the dean crying out, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies," the earl of Kent, alone, answered, amen. The rest of the spectators continued silent and drowned in tears, being incapable, at that moment, of any other sentiments than those of pity or admiration.

Such was the tragical death of Mary queen of Scots, after a life of forty-four years, almost nineteen years of which she passed in captivity.

To all the charms of beauty, and the utmost elegance of

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external form, she added those accomplishments which render their impression irresistible. Polite, affable, insinuating, sprightly, and capable of speaking and of writing with equal ease and dignity; sudden, however, and violent in all her attachments, because her heart was warm and unsuspicious. Impatient of contradiction, because she had been accustomed from her infancy to be treated as a queen; the vivacity of her spirit, and the warmth of her heart, betrayed her both into errors and into crimes. Her passion for Darnley was youthful and excessive; and though the sudden transition to the opposite extreme was the natural effect of her ill requited love, and of his ingratitude, insolence and brutality, yet neither these, nor Bothwell's artful address and important services, can justify her attachment to that nobleman. Even the manners of the age, licentious as they were, are no apology for this unhappy passion; nor can they induce us to look on that tragical and infamous scene which followed, with less abhorrence.

With regard to the queen's person, all cotemporary authors agree in ascribing to Mary the utmost beauty of countenance, and elegance of shape, of which the human form is capable. Her stature was of the height that rose to the majestic. She danced, she walked, and rode, with equal grace. Her taste for music was just, and she both sung and played upon the lute with uncommon skill. No man ever beheld her person without admiration and love, or will read her history without sorrow.

Elizabeth, when informed of Mary's execution, affected the utmost surprise and concern. Sighs, tears, lamentations, and weeds of mourning, were all employed to display the greatness of her sorrow. She even undertook to make the world believe, that the queen of Scots, her dear sister and kinswoman, had been put to death without her knowledge, and contrary to her inclination; and in order to complete this farce, she commanded Davison, her secretary, to be thrown into prison, under pretence that he had exceeded

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his commission in despatching the fatal warrant, which, although she had signed, she never meant to carry into execution.

This hypocritical disguise was assumed chiefly to appease the young king of Scotland, who seemed determined to exert the whole force of his dominions in order to revenge his mother's death. Elizabeth employed her emissaries to set before him every motive of hope, or fear, which might induce him to live in amity with her; and these, joined to the queen's dissimulation, and the pacific disposition of that prince, prevailed over his resentment. He fell gradually into a good understanding with the court of England.

Having in a great measure tranquillized the kingdom, and seen the spirit of faction, both political and religious, begin to subside, he was, by the death of queen Elizabeth, called to the English throne; a happy event for the island of Great Britain. From this memorable period, the history of Scotland is identified with that of England.

In the history of Scotland, previous to this event, the state of commerce is scarcely entitled to attention. In a country producing few and poor materials, and in which feudal oppression prevented their amelioration and increase, trade cannot be supposed to have made any great progress. The most ancient branch of Scottish commerce seems to have been that with France, which was promoted by the political connections between the two countries. Several of the monarchs of Scotland had encouraged trade, and aimed at the improvement of their country; but a slight glance at the history of their reigns will show, that neither the circumstances, nor the spirit of the times were favourable to the design. Before the year 1444, we find that the Scotch were engaged in the herring fishery. The linen manufacture of Scotland is also of considerable antiquity. From all the documents to which access can be had, it is evident, that so long as Scotland remained a separate kingdom, it had no claim to be ranked among commercial nations. As a proof of the

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scarcity of money in that country it is sufficient to remark, that the rate of interest was first reduced, from ten to eight per cent. so late as the year 1633. Its trade now began considerably to increase; money became more plentiful; and in 1672, a further reduction of interest, from eight to six per cent., took place. But it was not until the union in 1707, that Scotland, obtaining the privilege of a free trade with all the British plantations, found a vent for her manufactures, which excited a general spirit of commerce and industry. The whole amount of the circulating medium, at that time, in Scotland, was computed at 900,000*l.* sterling. The feudal system was one of the most powerful causes that paralised the exertions of industry, and prevented the increase of trade in Scotland. The efforts of several of the Scottish kings to depress it, have also been remarked in this condensed view of their history. It survived them all; but in the year 1654, Cromwell and his parliament enacted its total abolition. At the restoration, some of the politicians of that period having represented to Charles II. that such a state of society afforded the easiest means of retaining the kingdom in subjection, by the distribution of a few pensions, the act was not confirmed. But the rebellion of 1745, caused the final abolition of the feudal system in Scotland. An act passed in the 20th year of the reign of George II. first placed all the people of that country on the same footing, with regard to liberty. From that time, although not solely in consequence of that measure, but in connexion with a variety of concurring causes, the commerce, wealth, manufactures, and industry of Scotland have increased to an astonishing degree. The nobles and gentry of that country, by the improvement and increased value of their estates, have been gainers by the abolition of vassalage. The peasantry have also gained an increase of wealth, as well as of tranquillity, without any diminution of their honour or dignity.

It requires no effort of the imagination to conceive the state of the lower orders, under so complete a system of ser-

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vitude. From the frequency of feudal contentions, agriculture was neglected, and the peasantry were not only poor, but ferocious. The same causes produced similar effects on their towns, which, from the want of trade, were extremely poor, mean, and nauseous; so that during some centuries, the dirt and stench of Edinburgh were proverbial. A modern tour into Scotland is sufficient to shew the important revolution which has taken place in society since its happy union with England.

The fortunate consolidation of Great Britain into one powerful and compact monarchy, cannot be contemplated by any benevolent mind without emotions of pleasure as well as of gratitude to Providence. When we consider the blessings which this arrangement has produced, and, indeed, had always promised, it is matter of wonder that it was not sooner effected. The neglect of the Romans, in not completing the conquest of the whole island, was the cause of innumerable calamities to Britain; and, so long as it was divided into two separate kingdoms, the effect continued. The history of Great Britain affords, in this instance, a striking exhibition of the errors of politicians. Had the nation, at the demise of the maid of Norway, successor to Alexander III. cordially assented to the views of Edward, and effected a peaceable union with England, what blood would have been spared! what devastations would have been prevented! how much sooner would Scotland have flourished in commerce, in peace, and prosperity! In addition to these reflections, it may be said, that the ill judged patriotism of the Scottish heroes of that age, whose exploits, and whose obstinacy have been so much applauded by their historians, contributed not a little to retain their country in a state of barbarism and poverty. The bitterest enemies of their country could not have pursued a line of conduct more opposite to its interests. The privilege which a few individuals enjoyed, of oppressing the whole nation, was miscalled liberty, and Scottish patriotism consisted in the support of that mischievous power. We often find that the

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most beneficial changes in human circumstances have been produced by a casual concurrence, or more properly, a providential arrangement of causes and consequences, rather than by the projects of statesmen, or any efforts of human penetration and policy. After having reviewed the calamities which Britain has endured, the repeated devastations of its cities and provinces, and the torrents of blood by which it has been deluged, we cannot but appreciate the superior political happiness of present over former times. The present ecclesiastical government of Scotland is of the Presbyterian form. The number of parishes is 941. Contiguous parishes unite and constitute a presbytery, of which there are sixty-nine. Three or four of these compose a provincial synod. But the grand ecclesiastical court is the general assembly, in which the king presides, a commissioner being appointed to represent his majesty's person. The Scottish clergy, in general, are men of enlightened minds, as well as of exemplary lives, and have, by the moderation of their conduct, wiped off the stigma of intolerance and ferocity, by which the first reformers of Scotland were disgraced. Many respectable families adhere to the episcopal forms. Other religious denominations are not numerous.

Since the union, the political constitution of Scotland is blended with that of England. Before that event, the Scottish parliament, consisting, like that of England, of peers and representatives of counties and boroughs, sat in one house. The great barons were few in number, amounting, as recently as the reign of James VI. to no more than fifty-three.

The laws of Scotland differ essentially from those of England, and it would be of little use to exhibit here the minutiæ of distinction. Under the feudal system the hereditary jurisdictions were nearly absolute, and every chief exercised an almost uncontrolled authority. At present the civil and canon law constitute the basis of Scottish jurisprudence. With regard to the army, navy, revenue, &c. Scotland admits of no distinction from England, both forming one political system.

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The principal manufactures of Scotland are those of linen, iron, and, lately, of cotton. The first are very considerable, being estimated at the annual amount of 750,000*l.* The last, especially that of Carron, are objects of great national importance. As the progress of manufactures in the island is necessarily from the south to the north, owing to the price of provisions and labour being lower in the remote provinces, than nearer the capital, it is not impossible that, unless the want of fuel should render it impracticable, in progress of time they may find their way into the farthest corner of the highlands, and into the northern and western isles.

The general trade of Scotland is, in most respects, similar to that of England. In 1793 the exports were computed at 1,024,742*l.* since which time they have very considerably increased. Under this head the fisheries of Scotland deserve to be mentioned. These are not confined to their own coasts. The herring fishery might be made an inexhaustible source of wealth, as well as an invaluable nursery of seamen. A judicious and liberal plan for the encouragement of those fisheries, could not fail of being exceedingly conducive to national prosperity. The slightest glance at the history of Scotland, previous to the union, shews that, with respect to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, it has for ages been a neglected country; and, perhaps, ages may yet revolve, before it receives all the improvement of which it is capable.

From time immemorial, two different languages, indicative of a different national origin, have prevailed in Scotland: that of the lowlands, consisting of the ancient Scandinavian, intermixed with the Anglo-Saxon; and that of the highlands, which, as well as the Welsh and Irish, is radically Celtic. This latter is still spoken in most parts of the highlands: but the ancient language of the lowlands is nearly extinct, and the modern English now generally prevails.

The literature of Scotland has deservedly acquired an extensive fame; and the rapidity of its progress compensates

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for its recent origin. There appears, indeed, to have been a time when learning, as well as piety flourished in Iona, among the venerable disciples of St. Columbus; but after barbarism had overspread this remote asylum of letters, we no more discover their appearance till the thirteenth century; for in the twelfth, Scotland could not boast of any native writer. In the sixteenth century, Hector Boethius contributed much to the revival of learning; and the classical purity of Buchanan's Latin style is equal to that of any modern writer. Since that time, the progress of the Scots, in every department of literature and science, has not been less rapid than that of the other European nations. In the mathematics lord Napier, the celebrated inventor of logarithms; Maclaurin, not less famous for his astronomical works; and Dr. Simpson, distinguished for his illustrations of ancient geometry; have established the reputation of their native country. In medicine Monro and Cullen hold an eminent rank, and many other distinguished names might also be added. In various departments of literature, Hume, Ferguson, Smith, Blair, Beattie, Armstrong, Burns, &c. are names of distinguished celebrity. Thomson, the poet of the seasons, is the boast of Scottish poesy. Hume and Robertson have acquired universal celebrity. Their works will be read while the English language exists, and letters are held in esteem. During the last century, the literature of Scotland, under the general designation of Britain, has been identified with that of England, to which it has contributed more than a proportion of the common stock.

The mode of education pursued in Scotland, although it cannot be considered as a complete national plan, is perhaps the best practical system adopted in any country of Europe. It is very like that which is adopted in Connecticut. Every country parish, at least with very few exceptions, is provided with a school-master, as uniformly as with a clergyman. The school-master has a small salary, which enables him to educate the children at a rate easy and convenient to indigent

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parents. The great defect is, that the salaries of the masters are generally too small.

The universities of Scotland are four; that of St. Andrew, founded in 1412, is the most ancient; that of Glasgow was founded in 1453; that of Aberdeen in 1500; and that of Edinburgh in 1580.

The population of Scotland, in 1798, amounted to 1,526,492; exhibiting an increase of 261,112 since the year 1755. According to the records of the army, the number of soldiers furnished by Scotland, in the war which commenced in 1755, amounted to 80,000; and of these, about 60,000 were raised in the highlands, and the isles, which form by far the least populous part of the country. The poverty of those districts renders soldiers much easier to be procured, than in opulent and plentiful countries, which furnish more abundantly the means of obtaining a livehood by labour or trade. For the same reason Ireland and Scotland, especially the highlands, notwithstanding the comparative smallness of their population, far surpass England in furnishing emigrations to America; and, perhaps, in general, send abroad a greater proportional number of their inhabitants than any other country of Europe.

The people of Scotland are generally spare and active; and from the nature of their climate and manners of living, such of them as are inured to labour, or accustomed to expose themselves to the weather, can endure incredible fatigues. Among the higher classes the same mode of living, in almost every respect, prevails as in England. The same luxuries are seen at their tables, and the same urbanity and elegance are observable. Their dress is also the same as that of the English, being regulated by the London fashions. But the gentlemen of the highlands, especially in time of war, use the peculiar dress of their country, consisting of the plaid, composed of woollen stuff, called a tartan, with a waistcoat of the same, and the philebeg, or short petticoat.

The general characteristics of the lower classes of the people in Scotland are abstemiousness in diet, and simplicity of

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manners. One of the principal articles of their food is parich, by some called crowdy, a kind of thick pottage, composed of oatmeal and water, and eaten with milk, ale, or butter, and often by the poor without these ingredients. With two or three meals of this homely food every day, and a small bit of meat for Sunday, the labourer is generally contented. Although some of them are fond of whiskey, it may in general be said, that their sobriety, as well as their regular observance of the Sabbath, are exemplary. The Scottish manufacturer, or labourer, instead of wasting his weekly gains at the ale-house, is ambitious of appearing with his family in decent clothes on Sunday. The habitations of the peasantry have, of late, been much improved, and neat stone cottages, covered with tile or slate, often appear, where nothing but mud-walled hovels, meanly thatched with straw, were formerly to be seen. Their dress in the lowlands is not materially different from that of the same class of people in England, except that the bonnet is, for its cheapness and lightness, pretty generally retained. The highland peasantry have resumed the ancient dress of their country, which, after the rebellion of 1745, had been for a considerable length of time disused.

Among the Scotch peasantry, dancing is a favourate amusement. The rural inhabitants of Scotland, a great part of whose employment consists in attending their flocks and herds, have a natural taste for poetry and music, and the beautiful simplicity of the Scottish tunes, is relished by all true lovers of nature. Among the peculiarities of their manners may be reckoned the custom still prevalent at weddings, a contribution being generally made on such an occasion for persons of an inferior rank. The wedding is, for the most part, numerously attended. The guests are entertained with a dinner, and dancing, and each individual pays according to his ability and inclination. When the parties have been servants in respectable families, the contributions are sometimes so liberal as to enable them to provide household furniture, and the articles necessary for their establishment.

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The peasantry of Scotland, but especially of the highlands, have ever been remarkably superstitious, and, like the Welsh, and the Irish, believe in the existence of fairies. The hospitality of the Highlanders, and their kind attention to travellers, can scarcely be surpassed; but at the same time their inquisitive curiosity is sometimes troublesome; for they make a mutitude of inquiries of all strangers who come in their way, and cannot be satisfied without knowing every particular concerning their persons, their business, the place of their residence, and that of their destination, with every thing relating to their journey. In the solitude of the highlands, where the thinly scattered inhabitants live in a state of dull uniformty, sequestered from the rest of the world, the mind, not being employed and filled as in places of populous resort, its ideas are confined, and curiosity is excited by every trifling circumstance. Amidst the general revolution of ideas and habits introduced into Europe by the extinction of the feudal system, and the reformation of religion, perhaps few countries have experienced, in these respects, a greater change than Scotland. Among the higher classes, this change is in most places complete, but is not very perceptible among the peasantry. Except in the sequestered parts of the highlands, the manners and habits of all classes of people are daily more assimilated to those of the English.

END OF VOL. VI.

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